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Thesis

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY PROPHETS

by

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submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
1934

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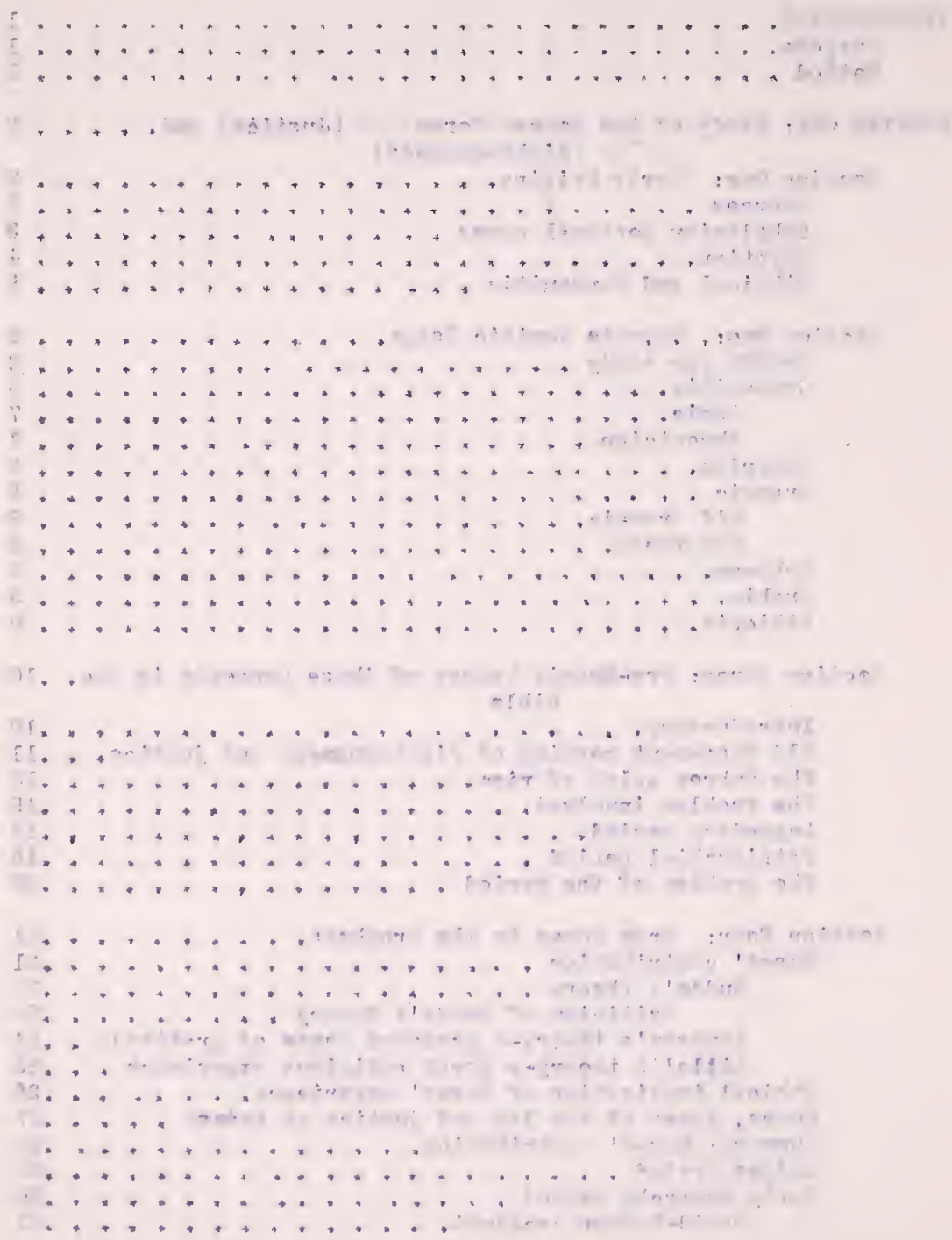

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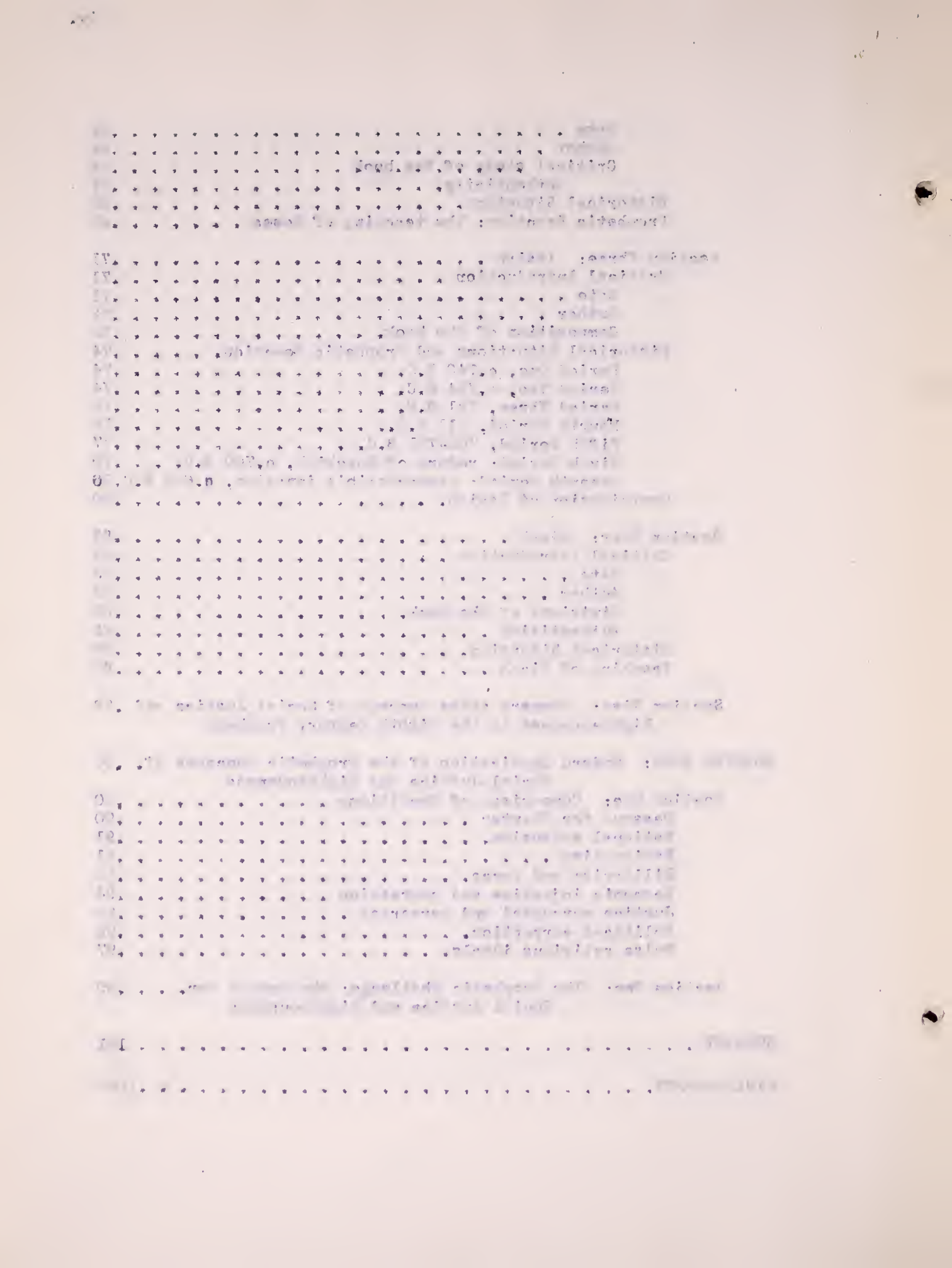

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is two-fold. It is an attempt, in a critical way, to understand the prophetic terms 'justice' and 'righteousness', and to master the prophetic usages of these terms. There is, however, a practical as well as a scholastic purpose, and that is to interpret the prophetic message of social justice and righteousness in a world in which may be found many counterparts of the terrific conditions which first called forth the prophetic message.

METHOD

The method pursued is governed by the purpose. To adequately understand any concept, the usage of that concept must be traced genetically to the earliest evidence of its root in our records of the past. Hence a study of the origins of the concepts will open the thesis. In order that the full force of the root may be learned, it will be traced in the cognate languages. The Biblical backgrounds of the prophets to be studied will be surveyed, tracing the gradual evolution of the ethical interpretations of 'just' and 'right', that the prophetic teachings may be seen in the light of their antecedants. The study of the prophetic usage of these concepts will be intensive rather than extensive, and will attempt to interpret the various ways in which the concept is used, rather than ~~attempting~~ to interpret each separate use. As a background to the

historical situation and the prophetic reaction, a biographical sketch of the prophet is given. The problems faced, and the reaction to these problems, constitute one of the most important phases of the thesis, for here is considered the heart of the prophetic message. The concluding chapter is an attempt to see in modern life the analogous situations to those the prophets faced, and to interpret the prophetic message for the world of today.

CHAPTER ONE: STUDY OF THE HEBREW TERMS שפט (JUSTICE) AND צדק (RIGHTEOUSNESS)

SECTION ONE: EARLY ORIGINS

Our earliest records giving insight into the origins of the concepts 'justice' and 'righteousness' come to us from Babylonian personal names containing the root

SOURCES s̱ d̲ q̲(k̲) (righteousness), from Egyptian sources wherein the concept of 'right-ness' or 'righteousness' appears in the records and from early Biblical and Canaanitic sources. Of these three, the Babylonian sources are evidently the oldest, so we shall first study them.

From the first Babylonian (Hammurabi) dynasty[1] come several significant personal names. The tenth king of this dynasty, we find, bears the name Am-mu-z(s)a-du-ga.

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1. Weidner dates this dynasty c.1950 B.C.-c.1750 B.C. Leslie follows his dates.

The Am-mu may mean 'my uncle',[1] but it evidently refers to Am-mi, a West Semitic god of this period.[2] The Sa-du-ga will be recognized to contain the root s d g(q), meaning 'righteous', and giving us the expression Am-mi, (a god) is righteous.[3] From approximately the same period comes the name A-hi-z(s)a-du-uq. A-hi means 'my brother' and is a reference to a God.[4] Baeur suggests that "here, perhaps, z(s)a-du-uq is the name of a god,"[5] in which case the name would be translated 'the god z(s)a-du-uq is my brother.' If this suggestion of Baeur's is correct, then here we find the ultimate source of the s d q concept. It would originally be the name of a deity, and would have taken its connotation of 'righteousness' from that conception which was conceived to be a constituent element of the deity's nature.

BABYLONIAN PERSONAL NAMES

The early Babylonian also yields the personal name Su-mu(s)zi-id-qum di-ta-na. This latter part, meaning 'Lord', is not certain. Su-mu is translated 'the son', the reference being to a deity. The name, therefore, would be translated 'the son (is a) righteous Lord.'[6] The name Ya-ash-du-k(q)um also comes from this source. It is a

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1. Baeur, DO, p. 80
2. Ranke, EBPN, p. 252.
3. Baeur, DO, p. 80; Ranke, EBPN, p. 252; RB, vol. 36, p. 70.
A word of appreciation should here be given to Dr. E. A. Leslie of Boston University School of Theology for aid in the research necessary to the gathering of these materials, and for translating Baeur, DO, and RB, which are untranslated.
4. Baeur, DO, p. 12.
5. Ibid. p. 80.
6. Baeur, DO, p. 80.

hypocoristic or abbreviated form, in which the name of the god does not appear, but is taken for granted. The Ya-a means 'he (a deity) is' while in the sh-du-k(q)um appears the s d q which we know to mean 'righteous.'[1]

From this study of the earliest data on the subject, we see that in its original force, the root s d q bore the meaning 'righteous' and that it was evidently connected with deity, and may have originally been the name of a god.

In the same source of material we find the name I(Y)s-ra-ah-^{d}(ilu)Da-gan. The ^{d}(ilu) means a god, hence the name of this man had some reference to deity. The records tell us that this man Is-ra-sh-ilu-Da-gan held the office of sha-pi-tu.[2] The root sh p t is seen as a constituent part of the name of this office, so it would seem that as early as this dynasty such an office of 'judge' was known. From the records here, it would appear that even in the very beginnings of the concepts, s d q expressed an attitude, while sh ph t was the expression of that attitude in action. We shall later see that this appears to have been the relationship of the two in the prophetic mind.[3]

The Egyptian sources for the concept of 'righteousness' come from the time of Ikhnaton, c.1500 B.C. We find

EGYPTIAN

that this king laid special emphasis upon the ideas of truth, righteousness, and justice. Ma'at, the

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1. Ibid, p. 80.
2. Ibid, p. 80.
3. Cf. pp. 10, 36 ff. of this thesis.

goddess of truth, was the impersonation of a fixed law, divine and moral. She was the wife of Thoth, creator of civilization, and the daughter of Re, the sun-god. "Ikhnaton called his new city the 'city of truth', and the Sun-God, everywhere a god of justice and righteousness, is the center."[1] Ikhnaton's favorite title meant "living in righteousness (or truth)".[2] Since these sources are not from a Semitic language, we would not expect to find a correlation with the Semitic roots, but we do find at this period the existence of the concept of 'righteousness' in Egyptian civilization.

From Biblical sources, we learn that Zadok was the temple head at the time of Solomon.[3] This association of Jerusalem with the root s d q doubtlessly had older counterparts. Joshua x. 1 recounts the capture by Joshua of Adoni-zedek (the Lord is righteous). Evidently the use of s d k was common in Canaanitic kings of Jerusalem, for Gen. 14:18-20 tells the story of Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest of God most high, and how he blessed Abraham. This name is a combination of melek, 'king', and s(z)adok, 'righteous'.[4] Although this Biblical account doubtlessly comes from a period much later than the events described (these events would be c. 1500 B.C.), it suggests that even from antiquity the Canaanites associated Jerusalem with 'righteous'.

BIBLICAL AND CANAANITIC

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1. CAH, ii, p. 399
2. Smith and Cook LRS, p. 659.
3. I Kings 1:32-45, etc.
4. CAH, ii, p. 397.

In this study of the early origins of the roots משׁפט and צדק, we have seen that in the earliest genetic sources traceable they had the force of 'justice' and 'righteousness', and were closely connected. In the Egyptian sources, we find, there was early a concept of 'righteousness', while Jerusalem was associated with s d q from antiquity in Biblical and Canaanitic sources. Having thus seen the force of the original roots of the concepts, we turn to a study of their usage in cognate Semitic languages, in an endeavor to better understand the root meaning.

SECTION TWO: COGNATE SEMITIC USAGE

A study of the usages of a concept in the cognate languages is oftimes extremely helpful in understanding the root force of that term. We shall therefore in this section

REASON FOR STUDY

study the cognate Semitic usage of the root stems s d q(k) (righteous), sh ph t (judge) and m sh p t (justice), hoping in such a study to throw some light upon the original force and New Hebrew meaning of these terms.

The Canaanitic contribution will be found in the Old Canaanitic, the Punic, and the Phoenician. The only reference to the Semitic root צדק (s d q) found in Canaanitic literature which we could trace comes from the Amarna letters of c. 1500 B.C. Here the term saduk has the meaning 'innocent.'[1]

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1. BDB, HL, p. 843.

In Punic we have a word, which evidently described an important official of the state, coming from the Semitic root שפט s f ṭ or sh ph ṭ (judge). This official,

PUNIC

the sufet[1] or suffete,[2] was rather important in the Carthaginian state, if we can take the colony at Marseilles, from whence these records directly come, as normative for the mother state at Carthage. The city was governed by two suffetes, who gave their names to the period of office, which was an annual appointment. The office was magisterial rather than hierarchal.[3] Here we see officials with a name approximating the Hebrew shophet, (judge) which was oftimes used by the eighth century prophets in reference to rulers.

From the same root (שפט) comes the Phoenician השפם, which occurs only in Phoenicia itself. "At an early date, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, we hear of a

PHOENICIAN

succession of judges at Tyre, who took the place of the king."[4] A second Phoenician term, פץ ד, coming from the root פץ (s d q, righteous), seems to denote a 'legitimate' prince. The צמח צדק , "legitimate shoot" of the Larnax Lapethos inscription, means in its Biblical usage, the "righteous shoot" to be raised to David.[5]

In the Phoenician, however, when the king of the neighboring

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1. BDB, HL, p. 1047.
2. Cooke, NSI, p. 115.
3. Ibid, pp. 115-116.
4. Cooke, NSI, p. 44. Fragment from Tyre, iii cent. B. C.
5. Jer. 13:5.

city of Lepethos bears the name צדמלך , its meaning is presumably not that the 'king (or god Milk) is legitimate', but rather that he is 'righteous'.[1]

The Assyrian yields little in the way of cognate usages of these terms. We do find the word šapâtu, and its synonym dânu, which evidently comes from שפט (judge) and carries the root meaning. From the same root comes šiptu, which probably meant judgment.[2]

ASSYRIAN

The contribution of the Aramaic will be found in the two sources: the Old Aramaic and the Nabataean. From the Old Aramaic comes the sentence: "For the righteousness of my father and for my own righteousness my lord Rekub-el and my lord Tiglath-pileser made me to sit upon the throne of my father."[3] Or again, "For my righteousness before him he gave me a good name and prolonged my days."[4] These and other fragments coming from the Old Aramaic indicate a use of the root צדק to mean righteousness, as it does in the Hebrew. Its derivatives, zakkī and zākūthā suggest 'justify' and 'victory' respectively, while zud'he means 'relations'.[5] In the first of these terms (zakkī) there appears to be a trace of relationship between s d q and sh ph t which we shall later find developed by the prophets.[6]

ARAMAIC

OLD ARAMAIC

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1. Smith and Cook, LRS, p. 660
2. BDB, HL, p. 1047.
3. Cooke, NSI, p. 181. From Zenjirli: Bar-rekub, 745-727 B.C.
4. Ibid, p. 190. From Nerab, vii cent. B.C.
5. Smith and Cook, LRS, pp. 660-661.
6. Cf. p. 4, ft-note 3 of this thesis.

The Nabataean צדקא is used in enumerating those entitled to be buried in a tomb. "A legal kinsman of some sort, it is not certain whether the emphasis lies on his

NABATAEAN

rights or the fact that he is one of the near kin."[1] Derivatives of צדק denote next of kin,[2] while the adjective denotes 'authorized'.[3]

Coming from the Semitic root צדק the Sabaean yields two adjectives: 'just', which is used as the epiteth of a king, and 'unusual' or 'excellent'. A verb meaning

SABAEAN

to 'favor' or 'endow' one with something also comes from this source.[4] It is interesting from our point of view to note that the root meaning for righteousness yields the word 'just'. This would again indicate a close relation between the two root meanings involved, even at an early date.

Derivatives of the same root in Arabic mean to 'speak the truth'.[5] From this root also comes the word meaning a special female friend, and a gift for her favors; also

ARABIC

what is congruent, what conforms to its proper nature, and logical truth.[6]

From this root צדק , comes the Ethiopic ጸድቀ, which has the meaning 'to be just', 'to be upright',[7] as well

ETHIOPIC

as 'to be righteous'.[8] Again we see a cognate language in which the two basic roots seem connected, for the

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1. Smith and Cook, LRS, pp. 659-660.
2. CAH, ii, p. 398.
3. BDB, HL, p. 843.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. CAH, Op. Cit.
7. Dillman, LLA, p. 1311.
8. BDB, HL, p. 843.

root s d q has as its primary meaning 'to be just'.

From this brief study of the cognate Semitic usage of the roots שׁפט and צדק we see that in most of the cognate languages they have a rather close connection, which we shall later see was continued by the prophets. Their root force seems to be that which is normative in the Hebrew 'justice' or 'judgment' and 'righteousness', although other usages are to be found.

SECTION THREE: PRE-MOSAIC USAGES OF THESE CONCEPTS IN THE BIBLE

INTRODUCTORY

In the preceding section, we traced the earliest origins of the roots s d q (k) (right), and sh ph t (judge) or m sh p t (just), the two roots being practically synonymous in Hebrew. We considered them from the linguistic aspects, giving little attention to the relationship between the two except in such instances as ~~such~~ these relationships arose in other connections. Before entering into this section dealing with the Biblical usages of these roots and the concepts they connote, it will be valuable to briefly consider such relationship. Throughout the Old Testament, one is increasingly conscious that back of the term mishpat (justice), basic as it is, there is a feeling of sedakah (righteousness) which is an underlying principle. It seems to be the more basic and the real basis for mishpat, and has its ultimate ~~nature~~ meaning in the nature of Yahweh himself. While this is true, the relationship is so close between the

two, especially as they are used by the Eighth Century prophets, that they at times appear to be almost synonymous. Indeed, in sixteen of the twenty-four times that these prophets use the term 'righteousness', it is used in connection with the term 'justice' or 'judgment'. If this close relationship between the two is kept in mind, it will greatly clarify the following sections of this thesis.

OLD TESTAMENT MEANING OF RIGHTEOUSNESS AND JUSTICE

Before taking up a study of the concepts of social justice and righteousness as revealed in the Old Testament, it will be found helpful to first consider the meaning of the word from the Old Testament viewpoint. As Davidson points out,[1] the etymological meaning of the root צדק cannot now be ascertained for certain. The same may be said for משפט, the root word of the concept of 'justice' or 'judgment'. In the preceding section of this thesis we found, however, that from the earliest of our records of these terms they did have a germinal expression of the present concepts of justice and righteousness. By the time we come to the Biblical usages, they evidently occur primarily in the moral sense, or when used to denote things which we call 'right' or 'just'. The suggestion that the Hebrew standard of 'right' or 'just' meant conformity to a standard was not enough; there must be the right standard. The standard is only the expression of right or the just in a particular sphere.

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1. Davidson, TOOT, pp. 129ff. **Cf. Chap. One, Sec. One of this thesis.**

It should be remembered in this connection that long before a judgment is passed, the person had in mind ideas of right and wrong. "And long before judgments are passed and predictions of righteousness or unrighteousness made, whether in regard to God or to man, the persons making them were already so far morally educated. The question how persons found passing judgment became morally educated is not of much consequence, because it refers to something anterior to the point at which we begin. The judgments which we find passed in regard to righteousness or unrighteousness are made from the mind of the person judging, and as a rule bear no reference to any source from which he may have learned to judge as he does."[1] Thus it would seem that in the Old Testament standard, God is righteous and just when he acts in a 'right' or 'just' manner, and that this manner is judged by the individual, and depends upon the moral outlook of that individual. Thus it can be seen that the meaning of the term 'righteousness' and 'justice' as used in the Old Testament will be a changing and growing meaning, depending upon the moral nature of the age and of the man studied. Tracing this growth is really a prerequisite to a proper understanding of the prophetic usages of the concepts of 'justice' and 'righteousness', for it will reveal how they came to have such ideas concerning the nature of God and his demands upon man.

It will further be found advantageous, before tracing this growing concept of righteousness and justice in the

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1. Ibid, p. 130.

Hebrew religion, to attempt to discover the Hebrew point of view towards ethics in general. It can first be noted that it is taken for granted by their literary representatives that man is a moral being. The only Old Testament passage which considers this problem posits man's moral nature in a miraculous tree, and as a result of sin.[1] Although this tradition could have been used to advantage by other writers to justify God's severity toward other peoples, it is nowhere else in the Old Testament even mentioned, rather the moral nature of man is referred to the instinctive dictates of humanity.[2]

THE HEBREW POINT OF VIEW

Further, the Hebrew believed he stood in a peculiar relation to Yahweh, a relation so close that when he was not sure of the correct path, he could hear a voice saying, "This is the way; walk ye in it."[3] From this standpoint, the law of good-will assumes vast importance. "If the given act is approved by the ethical judgment, the will should at once require its performance;...Indeed, the will is recognized as so important a factor in such matters that one is not generally given credit for doing right unless one chooses the right as right and shuns the wrong as wrong; and, on the other hand, one is not condemned, if, choosing the right, one is led to do that which is wrong through a mistake of judgment."[4] Thus in the

---

1. Genesis 3.
2. Amos 2:9ff.
3. Isaiah 30:21.
4. Mitchel, EOOT, p. 13.

story of Abraham in Egypt, the king appeals to God, saying, "Wilt thou slay even a righteous nation?"[1] insisting that he had done no wrong in his heart. As an outgrowth of this belief of a peculiar relation to Yahweh, the Hebrew interpreted events in a way so as to bring in the hand of Yahweh. Thus is God represented as the motivating force behind Abraham's adventures, rather than the spirit of adventure.

It will later be seen that this Hebrew point of view naturally influenced their concept of Yahweh and His requirements of man: a man who is a moral being, naturally indicated a moral deity back of him; a God who voluntarily chose a certain people had the right to expect that people to assume greater responsibility; and a Yahweh who controlled and motivated the acts of men must have some purpose for these acts.

Having thus seen the problem involved in studying the righteousness of God due to the growing conceptions of the Hebrews, and the Hebraic point of view with which we will deal, we now turn to the main portion of this section, in which we seek to discover the pre-Mosaic germs of the concept of justice and righteousness.

The task of tracing the Biblical development in the usages of 'justice' and 'righteousness' is indeed difficult, due to the composite nature of the Bible. If we accept the

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1. Gen. 20:4.

historical accuracy and literal interpretation of the earliest sections, such as Genesis, we must hold that there was a very definite evolution in the justice and righteousness of man, and must further admit such an evolution in the very nature of God himself. Our problem, however, would be simple, for this growth in the content of 'justice' and 'righteousness' could be traced simply by following the chronology of the Biblical stories wherein these concepts are revealed. However, this is not the case, for modern knowledge has revealed a composite rather than a homogeneous Bible, and we now know that the various sections of the Pentateuch were written at various stages in the history of the Hebrew people, and not only reveal some knowledge of the ideas of the age about which the narrative tells, but also a great deal about the age in which the narrative was written, and that the latter is closely interwoven with the former, and greatly influences it. Thus it is that when we take a specific instance and attempt to discover the content of the concepts of 'justice' and 'righteousness' revealed by that incident, it may be that we will discover, not the concept as held at the time of the original incident, but the concept held by the scribe who first put the oral tradition into writing, or even that of a very late redactor. Thus in the story of the Tower of Babel[1] we see a very early and anthromorphic idea of God as coming down to see what man was doing;

THE PROBLEM INVOLVED

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1. Gen. 11:1-10

also a polytheistic idea, as indicated by the use of the plural in v. 7,[1] and a jealous God of small moral development. On the other hand, we see a God of omnipotence who is the source of all nations and languages, the latter conceptions coming from the 'J' editor who recorded the story in about 850, B.C.

Although it is difficult to trace the steps in the increasing moralization of the concepts of justice and righteousness as held by the Hebrews, it is evident that

LEGENDARY PERIOD

it had its roots far back in the history of the people. Concerning the origin of this moralization as revealed in the conception of God, Robinson says: "The relation between Israel and Yahweh did not begin to be moral in the eighth century; it began to be moral when it began to exist. The great fact for the future was not the precise scope of the original idea of Yahweh, but the recognition that Israel had to do with a powerful person, who was morally interested in its welfare."[2] That the concepts of justice and righteousness had a definite moral content even before their use in historical records has been seen in the first section of this thesis, wherein we traced some of these early origins of the terms, and also by the fact that, as Knudson points out, "even in the Semitic polytheisms there was usually some one god such as the Babylonian Shamash whose special function it was to maintain law and right."[3]

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1. There is a disagreement as to the interpretation of these plural forms. For a discussion of this see Knudson, RTOT, Chap. 3.
2. Robinson, RIOT, p. 65. 3. Knudson, RTOT, p. 165.

While it must be admitted that these ideas of righteousness and justice did not dominate the entire religion as it did at the time of Isaiah, still the fact that even in the pre-Israelitish period of Semitic history justice and righteousness were recognized as ~~an~~ attributes of the gods, would force us to place the germs of the later concept in this early period.

As has been previously inferred, the concept of deity is an accurate index to the status of any definite idea in any period of history, for there is some truth from the genetic standpoint, to the saying that "God is the noblest work of man." Hence it is that as we study the increasing moralization of the idea of God in the Old Testament, we find the record of the moralization of the uses of 'justice' and 'righteousness'. That this moralization was still in a very germinal state in the pre-patriarchal or legendary period is evidenced in the story of the tower of Babel,[1] where God is unmoral, rather than moral. The concept of God, as we have pointed out, is governed by the development of man, and by the ideals of man in a given age can those of God be judged. In view of this, the Song of Lamech[2] throws light on the probable morality of this early period, for it is thought to be an actual remnant of this period:

LEGENDARY PERIOD

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1. Cf. pp. 15-16 of this thesis. 2. Gen. 4:23, 24.

Ada and Zillah, hear my voice;
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech:
For I have slain a man for wounding me,
And a young man for bruising me:
If Cain shall be avenged seven-fold.
Truly Lamech seventy and seven-fold.

Although the morality as revealed in this ancient song was very low, there are evidences from this period that the seeds of justice and righteousness, as we conceive them, were beginning to germinate. We find God represented as being greatly wroth over the murder of Abel by Cain,[1] and that Noah found favor in the eyes of God; because he was "a righteous man, and perfect in his generations: Noah walked with God."[2] God likewise made a covenant with Noah,[3] indicating a God who could be trusted to keep such a covenant. Thus we must conclude that although it was a very germinal state, in the legendary period of Hebrew history can be discovered the beginnings of the moralization of the concepts of justice and righteousness.

In the patriarchal period of Hebrew history we find the concept of God expanding and becoming more definite, with an increasing moralization in his nature as viewed by the Hebrews, although in this period it can

PATRIARCHAL PERIOD

scarcely be said to reach beyond the germinal stage. As in the case of Noah, we find here a God who is the God of the Covenant, a God who is to be trusted.[4] Although the historicity of this incident can

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1. Gen. 4:9-12.
2. Gen. 6:9.
3. Gen. 9:8-18.
4. Gen. 12:2.

doubtlessly be challenged, there must have been somewhere in this early period the beginnings of the covenant idea, for it so profoundly influenced the rest of the Israelitish history that it must have had deep roots. In the story of the destruction of Sodom[1] (if it can be granted authenticity as a source of information concerning the religion of the patriarchal period, even though its historicity be denied) is a strong moral tendency which illustrates a growing conception of the justice and righteousness of God, and indicates the beginning of the prophetic use of the terms. Abraham's question, "Wilt thou consume the righteous with the wicked?"[2] reveals a decidedly moral ideal concerning man's expectation of God, while Yahweh's reply that he would not destroy the city if even ten righteous men were to be found[3] reveals a growing righteousness in men's interpretation of his nature. In a like manner, Abimelech's question, "Lord, wilt thou slay even a righteous nation?"[4] reveals a certain justice in the character in the nature of the deity worshipped.

However, as in the case of the earlier period, this apparent tendency towards the moralization of the concepts of justice and righteousness is only one side of the question, for even in the very stories cited to illustrate this moralization are to be found elements of immoral-

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1. Gen. 18:16-19:28.
2. Gen. 18:23.
3. Gen. 18:32.
4. Gen. 20.

ities, especially in the story of Abimelech and Abraham, wherein Abraham is not condemned for his actions, and Abimelech is condemned, although the moral codes of a later time would completely absolve Abimelech, who did no intentional wrong, and place the blame on Abraham, who wilfully lied to gain an advantage.[1] Instances of this kind, wherein the moral nature of God is of such low repute that even skillful interpretations can scarcely make the story palatable, are so numerous in this period that there is no necessity of further dwelling on this aspect, but it should be remembered that even in the face of these are the stories which reveal the beginnings of a prophetic concept of justice and righteousness.

Before passing on to the contribution of Moses to the moralization of these concepts a word should be said about the validity of this section. While many scholars hold that all the tradition of the pre-Mosaic period is valueless, still others such as Kittel recognize that "Israel did not rise from the soil at the stamp of Moses' foot; it must have had a previous history."[2] While the pre-Mosaic sections of the Bible can scarcely be held to have historicity, still it seems plausible that they might reveal something of the ideas of the times, for it

THE PROBLEM OF THE PERIOD

is a known fact that in an Oriental nation where oral tradition is the medium of historical transmission, this tradition has consider-

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1. Ibid.
2. Kittel, RPI, p. 40.

able accuracy, even as it has among the Arabs of today. The whole question is that of how far such traditions can be trusted to reveal the ideas of the past, and how far they are affected by the ideals of the periods through which they pass.

SECTION FOUR: FROM MOSES TO THE PROPHETS

MOSES' CONTRIBUTION

There are several divergent theories as to the nature of the contribution of Moses to the religion of Israel and to the development of the concepts of justice and righteousness, especially as revealed in God. We shall study the more important of these, for here in the character of Moses and his contribution we shall see the emergence of the definitely prophetic conceptions of 'justice' and 'righteousness'. One of the most popular theories of Moses' contribution is that first set forth by Budde, and followed by Robinson, Barton, and others:[1]

> "All attempts to find the germ of the ethical development of the Yahweh-religion in the material content of the conception of God as represented by Moses have completely failed. Let us now enquire whether by asking the question "How?" instead of "What?" we cannot reach a better result. How did Israel come to its religion? It went over, at Sinai, to a rude nomad religion, a religion which did not stand higher than that of other tribes at the same stage of civilization. It served henceforth the same God as the tribe of Kenites to which Moses' wife belonged. But the Latin proverb rightly says, 'When two do the same thing it is not the same.' For one fundamental difference existed between Israel and the Kenites from the beginning. The latter, like number-

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1. Budde, RIE, pp. 35-37.

less other tribes and peoples, had had their god from time immemorial. But Israel had turned to him of its own free will, and chosen Him as its God. The Kenites served their god because they knew no better; because he was of their blood-kindred, and had grown up in inseparable union with them; because his worship belonged to the necessary and almost unconscious expression of the life of the people. This was still the case with their remote descendants, the Rechabites of the time of Jeremiah. But Israel served Yahweh because He had kept His word; because He had won Israel as His possession by an inestimable benefit; because it owed Him gratitude and fidelity in return for this boon, and could ensure its further prosperity only by evidences of such fidelity. Thus in the very transition to this new religion, virtues were both awakened in the heart of the people and maintained in continuous watchfulness. If Yahweh-worship had no ethical character, this relation to Him had such a character, and all future development could spring therefrom...Whenever things went badly with the people it was far from thinking that Yahweh had not the power to help. On the contrary, its conscience awakened each time to the questions: 'Wherein have I deserved the displeasure of Yahweh?' 'What must I do to ensure a renewal of His favour and help?' Thus arose a really living force, whose operation tended to the ethical development of Israel's religion."

BUDDE'S THEORY

This theory of Budde, however, has been subjected to several criticisms. Knudson offers four of these[1] which, while not absolute, greatly weaken Budde's argument:

CRITICISM OF BUDDE'S THEORY

First, it is not certain that Yahweh was the God of the Kenites before he was the God of Israel. He was evidently known to at least the tribe of Judah, for from the J document we have the tradition that men called upon the name of Yahweh from the time of Enosh, the grandson of Adam,[2] or, in other words, from earliest

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1. Knudson, RTOT, pp. 158-159. 2. Gen. 4:26.

antiquity. If this is the case, there is nothing new in the loyalty to him growing out of the deliverance from Egypt which would suggest a religion of 'choice'. In the second place, the distinction between a 'natural' and a 'voluntary' relation to the deity probably never arose in the mind of the ancient, for the relation to the god was a personal one. Again, when Yahweh's choice is referred to in the Old Testament, it is nowhere opposed to a natural paternal relation between Israel and Yahweh. Finally, the prophets had to moralize the idea of Israel's divine election as much as the idea of a 'natural' relation to Yahweh. In the Old Testament, no distinction is made between these two conceptions.

Smith adds two objections to these of Knudson to Budde's theory.[1] First, he notes that in the study of tribes and clans, and the history of religion, no parallel cases have ever been discovered, wherein the change of gods, either voluntarily or involuntarily, brought about such a marked moral change in the lives of the people. Second, he feels that such an explanation of the greatness of the religion of Israel as Budde offers is entirely too simple, for, as he says, "We might almost as reasonably attempt to ascribe the origin of the ocean to a single stream. The ethical life of a people is a thing of complex and composite character. It is fed by many streams. Each individual and every social group makes

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1. Smith, J. M. P., MLH, pp. 65-68.

its contribution. Economic, political, social, and religious forces all combine and are inextricably interwoven in the production of ethics. It is therefore extremely hazardous to pick out any one single act in a people's history and hold it responsible for all the later moral progress...The glory of the Hebrew was a thing yet to be revealed and is inexplicable apart from the great prophets." [1]

A second theory of the significant factor here is that presented by Knudson: "What was ethically significant in the work of Moses was not the establishment of a new voluntary relation between a people and its God, but the new and profound sense of gratitude and loyalty called forth by the marvelous deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt. And that deliverance they attributed to Yahweh, whether they had known him before or not, and to him they poured out their soul in passionate devotion. This devotion was in itself a profoundly ethical act. It involved such a surrender of the human to the divine will and such an outflow of joyful gratitude to God that the prophets centuries later looked back upon it as the ideal expression of the nation's religious life. Israel was then 'holiness unto Jehovah, the first-fruits of his increase.'[2] He found her 'like grapes in the wilderness;...as the first-ripe in the fig-tree.'[3] The ardor she then manifested was

KNUDSON'S THEORY- A PROFOUND SENSE OF GRATITUDE & LOYALTY

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1. Ibid., pp. 66-67.
2. Jer. 2:3.
3. Hos. 9:10.

the kindness of her youth and the love of her espousals.[1] And when Hosea describes the ideal Israel of the future he says that 'she shall make answer there, as in the days of her youth, and as in the day when she came up out of the land of Egypt.'[2] In that early day no mummery of sacrifice vitiated her worship.[3] Her devotion was a pure service of the heart."[4]

The question of how Moses led the people from Egypt---the source of his power for the great task---is taken up by Kittel, who holds that Soderblom was correct in describing the religion of Moses as a religion of the natural emotion. He holds that

KITTEL'S THEORY- A GREAT RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

regardless of whether he previously knew Yahweh, that he in some way from his own inner experience supplied a new content to the term, making it practically a new term. "This God whom Moses had come to know in Egypt was a different God from the God of the fathers. This was a God who masters the soul and overpowers it with emotion. Moses was laid hold of by him and became his prophet. Just as Mohammed suddenly heard a voice which overpowered him and which drew him into the service of Allah, so Moses became aware that he was near God who laid hold of him and constrained him into his service. Thus Moses became a prophet not merely in name, but, what

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1. Hos. 2:15.
2. Jer. 2:2.
3. Amos 5:25; Jer. 7:22.
4. Knudson, RTOT, pp.159-160.

was more important, in fact;....a man of spiritual insight and action." [1] While Kittel is evidently justified in holding that some deep emotional experience led Moses into his prophetic office,[2] it seems that his certainly that this God is not the God of the fathers is unwarranted, for while one account does picture this God as entirely unknown to Moses,[3] for he had to ask God what name he was to tell the children of Israel, still the same source pictures this new God as being the God of the fathers.[4] A possible explanation would be that the God of the fathers had come to Moses in the form of a religious experience so strong and so powerful that it seemed to Moses to be an entirely new God, or at least a new manifestation of the God of the fathers.

ETHICAL IMPLICATION OF MOSES' EXPERIENCE

Concerning the nature of any definite moral commands which may have accompanied this new-born loyalty and intense zeal, we do not know. It is quite possible, Knudson holds,[5] that the Decalogue emanated from Moses, but whether tradition is right here wo do not know. It is certain, however, that this initial passion to Yahweh which he gave to the Hebrew people contained an ideal element which was to develop into the prophetic ideal of justice and righteousness. "The Yahweh, to whom the Hebrews surrendered themselves, may not to an outward observer have seemed very different from Chemosh of Moab, but the glowing loyalty

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1. Kittel, RIP, pp. 53-54.
2. Exodus 3:4.
3. Exodus 3:14.
4. Exodus 3:6,13.
5. Knudson, RDT, p. 160.

that he evoked carried with it of necessity a tendency to idealize his character. There are in our subjective equipment two positive factors, the good will and a certain ideal of life. Both come to us as obligations, and both in the case of the Hebrews must have been so stimulated by the sense of loyalty and gratitude to Yahweh as to lead to an essentially new view of this character and of the service he required of men. This higher ideal element may not at first have manifested itself with perfect distinctness. But the impulse toward it was certainly there. It was implicit in the intense devotion and sustained enthusiasm of the people. The God under whose banner they had enlisted was no mere nature-god, no mere dispenser of the good things of life, but a stern God of conscience, a God to whom law and right were dear."[1] As much at least of the ethical as this must be attributed to the Mosaic conception of Yahweh.[2]

MOSES, GIVER OF LAW AND JUSTICE AT KADESH

Kittel[3] would go perhaps further, in ascribing to Moses the definite work of a giver of the law. He holds that it was at Kadesh the ideals of justice and conscience established themselves in the Hebrew religion, and that it was here that God became a God of moral will. As he points out, it is to be expected that from Kadesh will issue the concept of justice, for the very name of the ancient spring there, 'en mishpat, means to

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1. Exodus 18.
2. Knudson, RTOT, pp. 160-161.
3. Kittel, RPI, pp. 55-63.

seek justice' and 'to settle disputes'. Thus he feels that it was only natural that it should be here that Moses should give the people "statutes and ordinances," hoq umishpat.[1] "It was fitting to immediately write down these statutes as words 'of the covenant,' therefore as a charter of the covenant, and with these as its basis the covenant was solemnly concluded.[2] Thus the relation of Israel to its God was that of a contract, a solemn ethical obligation to do his will. But Moses himself hereby became law-giver, though not in the sense that he gave them the later so-called Mosaic Law, or that he imparted it as a complete code; for everybody knows that this was the work of centuries of constant development. He was the law-giver rather in the sense that he gave his people norms of conduct and controlled in the name of the deity the decisions given at the sanctuary. Both elements, jus and fas, bore the name torah, divine instruction."[3]

Thus it is that, regardless of the theory accepted, we find in the contribution of Moses a real basis for the prophetic content of the concepts 'justice' and 'righteousness'. Although there were doubtlessly indications in this direction before the time of Moses, as we have already seen, the real rise of the moralized conception of justice and righteousness must be ascribed

SUMMARY: MOSES' CONTRIBUTION

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1. Ex. 15:25.
2. Ex. 24:3ff.; Joshua 24:1-25ff.
3. Kittel, RPI, p. 65.

to this Exodus period, and to Moses must be given the credit of making the first great significant contribution to this idea.

Since this is not an attempt to trace the history of the Hebrew people, but rather to discover the origin and development of the concepts of social justice and righteousness, we need not go into detail in regard to the history of the Judges period. It is enough to note that with the

JUDGES PERIOD

entrance of the Hebrews into Canaan, they faced the problem of adjustment to the culture of the country. As is oftimes the case, the more advanced culture of the inhabitants at first triumphed over that of the invaders, and Hebrew religion was greatly affected by Canaanitic Baal worship. Since this was a religion with chief emphasis upon sacrificial systems, and low moral and ethical content, it is only to be expected that the concept of justice and righteousness received little stimulus from the syncretistic tendencies of the period. It is furthermore doubtful whether the vision of Moses would have been followed by the Hebrews even had they not been affected by the Canaanitic culture, for ofttimes a people will slip back from the high ideals of a great leader, or rather, fail to comprehend these ideals. The later history of Israel furnishes sufficient evidence on this point.

Since the literature of this period is practically all from secondary sources, we face the same problem here in

attempting to get at the concept of God as we did in the earlier periods.[1] However, we can see, as we did in that period, the religious ideas woven in with those of the period from which our sources date. Thus we see in the story of Jepthath's sacrifice of his daughter a God who demanded human sacrifice;[2] or in the Sampson stories a God who gave a man unique physical power, making that power dependent on an entirely unmoral consideration.[3]

In the person of Samuel we have the beginnings of that prophetic line which was to eventuate in the great literary prophets, and finally in the great prophet of Nazareth.

EARLY MONARCHY PERIOD However, in Samuel we see little ~~which~~ the later prophets developed in such a striking manner. In the call of Samuel,[4] there appears to be a spiritual element which later develops through an ethical insight into the prophetic concept of righteousness, but to say that the idea of righteousness is revealed here would be straining a point. However, the reasons why God is going to destroy the house of Eli, as told in the story, does indicate a growing interest in justice and righteousness, for these reasons are all for ethical disobedience. This, however, may be the interpretation of the author of the story.

In the time of David, however, we do have a very definite indication of the developed consciousness of justice

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1. Cf. pp. 14-16 of this thesis
2. Judges 11:30-40.
3. Judges 13-16.
4. I Sam. 3.

and righteousness, both in the mind of the prophet ~~and in the mind of the prophet~~ and in the mind of the king. This is strikingly revealed in the incident wherein Nathan, the official court prophet, condemns David for his murder of Uriah the Hittite and the rape of his wife, Bath-sheba.[1] The fact that David became greatly excited at the injustice as revealed by the story of Nathan indicates that his moral judgment was not lacking in this one regard at least,[2] and the fact that he recognizes his sin to be against Jehovah[3] shows that he had a moral conception of God.

DAVID-NATHAN INCIDENT

While other examples could perhaps be cited to give evidence of a growing conception of justice and righteousness in the period of the divided kingdom, for the purpose of this thesis one striking example is sufficient. By far the most striking example of this growing sense of the moral requirements of Yahweh and His righteousness is that revealed in the conflict of Ahab and Elijah at Naboth's vineyard.[4] Ahab had sinned in having Naboth the Jezreelite killed so that he might confiscate his vineyard, which Naboth refused to sell to the king. For this sin, Elijah suddenly appeared before the astonished king and prophesied that his house should be utterly destroyed. The significant factor in this story is the fact that Ahab recognized his sin, and did it

ELIJAH'S CONDEMNATION OF AHAB AT NABOTH'S VINEYARD

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1. II Sam. 11:2-12:25.
2. II Sam. 12:5.
3. II Sam. 12:13.
4. I Kings. 21:1-25.

only after being urged by Jezebel, thereby revealing a certain high moral conception and ideal, if not action. Further, Elijah claims that the crime of Ahab was evil in the sight of the Lord, thereby revealing that in the prophetic school the ideal of social justice and the righteousness of God was already well established.

RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD AS REVEALED BY LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD

A further factor should here be noted, namely, the increasing insistence upon righteousness in the literature developed during this period. While the early Decalogue of Exodus 34 is chiefly concerned with ritualistic practices, the later Decalogue of Exodus 20 comes from the prophetic period, the Book of the Covenant[1] is evidently from the period of the early monarchy, and contains many precepts of an ethical nature which reveal an ethical God. "It is indeed surprising to find how many of the moral demands of the great prophets are here, in principle, already required by Yahweh from Israel: the generous treatment of the slave, the 'stranger', the widow and the orphan, the debtor and the poor; impartial and incorruptible equity in the administration of justice; proper regard for parents; even the duty of driving back an enemy's stray cattle. Clearly the God who requires such conduct from His people is already possessed in their eyes of a pronounced moral character."[2]

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1. Exodus 20:22-23:19. 2. Robinson, RIOT, p. 66.

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PERIOD

In summarizing the contribution of this period to the increasingly moralized conception of the demands of Yahweh upon his people, we see that while a great part of the period reveals nothing striking, there was a great development going on under the surface, chiefly in the prophetic bands, which gave to the prophets of the eighth century the feeling that they were not proclaiming a new doctrine in their insistence upon social justice and righteousness, but rather were simply drawing from the material of their predecessors. Thus we must place in this period the final development which was the basis for the social message of the eighth century prophets, and which really made their message possible.

Having thus traced the growing moralization of the concepts of 'justice' and 'righteousness' as revealed in the pre-prophetic period of Biblical history, we turn now to the prophetic sources themselves, in an attempt to understand the prophetic usages of these concepts.

CHAPTER TWO: USAGES BY THE EIGHTH CENTURY PROPHETS

INTRODUCTORY

There are two possible approaches to the material to be covered in this chapter. It would be possible to consider this an extensive study, and deal with each instance in which the terms 'justice' or 'righteousness' are used. It is felt, however, that it will be more valuable if that method of approach is not followed, but the second possibility is developed, wherein only a few of the usages are considered in a more intensive fashion. In such a study, it is necessary to consider not only the specific terms, 'justice' and 'righteousness', but likewise to deal with derivatives of the original root stems, m sh p ṭ or sh ph ṭ and ṣ d q. Thus we will also study the usages of the words 'judge,' 'judgment', 'judging', and 'just' in connection with 'justice', and the words 'right' and 'righteous' in connection with 'righteousness'.

Although the question of authenticity might well be considered here, it will be dealt with in this section only as specific passages may demand it, and will be more fully covered in the next chapter, wherein we discuss critical problems of each book, before tracing the historical situations and prophetic teachings.

SECTION ONE: AMOS

The term 'judge' is used only once in the book of Amos,[1] and in that instance it is used as a noun, and is synonymous with 'ruler',[2] and hence is not to be properly included in this thesis, only as it throws light on one of the uses of the term. It might be argued by inference that since the word originally had a certain kinship to 'justice',[3] it is expected that the ruler would be just. This, however, cannot be definitely proven.

JUDGE

The concept 'judgment' is used four times in the book of Amos,[4] each time with the same implication of social justice, which is being witheld. Since the use found in 5:24 is perhaps the best example of the use Amos makes of this term, we shall make our study of it:

> "But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."

In this passage we see the very soul of the prophet Amos pouring out in a passionate plea for justice and righteousness. He is not here pronouncing a threat against Israel, nor describing the righteousness of the Messiah, nor answering the popular belief that Yahweh will accept their offerings if they be sincere. Neither is this an assertion that the ideal state can be secured through their acts alone; rather, it is the prophet's

JUDGMENT AND RIGHTEOUSNESS

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1. Amos 2:3.
2. Cf. II Kings 15:5. Cf. also Kent, SEAIP, p. 66, and NCB, MP I, p. 131.
3. Amos 5:7, 15,24; 6:12.

exhortation to give up the old cultic, ceremonial standard of religion, and accept a new standard of social justice and righteousness.[1] As we shall later see,[2] Isaiah likewise thus defines true religion in terms of right living and doing, not in sacrifices, while James gives us an excellent New Testament parallel to this thought.[3] It should be noted that in all of these passages using 'judgment' save one,[4] the word is used in connection with the word 'righteousness', and evidently is considered as synonymous with, or complimentary to, that term. It is, as we have previously shown,[5] that the two are closely akin, and that justice depends upon the righteousness of God, or man, for its rendition. Hence true justice presupposes righteousness, and righteousness expresses itself in justice.

In Amos 5:12 is found the sole instance of the prophet's use of the term 'just', where it is used as a noun to describe a class of people. As it is here used, it evidently JUST refers to that class of people who are needful of honest court officials to give them their rights, and who are being denied these rights. Harper[6] suggestively brings out the close connection between the usages of mishpat and sedekah by substituting 'righteous' for 'just' in this passage.

Amos 3:10 contains the prophet's sole use of the word 'right', where it is used to mean a correct ethical standard:

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1. Harper, ICC 135-136.
2. Cf. p. 4 of this thesis.
3. James 1:27
4. Amos 5:15
5. Cf. P. 4,8 of this thesis
6. Harper, Op. Cit. p. 122

"For they know not to do right, saith the Lord, who store up violence and robbery in their palaces."

As can be seen, the emphasis is upon the lack of knowledge of correct standards of right and wrong. It means that their moral sense is gone. "Their blindness is shown: they think they are storing up treasure, but it is only violence and robbery, the sure marks of an approaching Nemesis."[1] This ignorance carries with it indifference and hostility, all ideas of right having been lost.[2] Harper translates 'right' as 'good', showing the ethical nature of the use of the term.

RIGHT

We have already discussed Amos' usage of the term 'righteousness' in another connection,[3] and need not further deal with it here. As we might have expected from the rugged character of the man, he uses few words to carry his teachings, and hence uses only five words, 'judge', 'judgment', 'just', 'right', and 'righteousness' to carry his concept of social righteousness and justice, yet we find that so ably does he use them that his message of the ethical requirements of God for His people marks one of the greatest teachings of the entire prophetic movement.

SECTION TWO: HOSEA

As in the case of Amos' use of 'judge',[4] Hosea uses

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1. NCB, MP I, p. 140
2. Harper, Op. Cit., p. 77.
3. Cf. P. 35 of this thesis.
4. Cf. P. 35 of this thesis.

'judges' in reference to the rulers of the nation,[1] The New Century Bible suggests that 7:7 was written in the time of Menahem, the murderer of Shallum, the murderer of Zechariah,[2] which would certainly be ample historical grounds for the charges.[3] Most of the commentators agree here that Hosea means rulers, including princes and kings.[4]

JUDGES

Hosea further follows Amos in his use of 'judgment' to express social justice and righteousness, although he does not use the two terms in the same context as often as does Amos. In his five uses of 'judgment,'[5] it is used with 'righteousness' only once,[6] although he evidently conceived the two to be closely related as did Amos. One of the most interesting passages in which he uses 'judgment' is found in 12:6:

JUDGMENT

> "Therefore turn thou to thy God: keep mercy and Judgment, and wait on thy God continually."

Here we find Hosea's message of the duty of man to man, as it should be carried out if man is to do his duty to God. Hosea here enlargens justice to include the softer element of chesed, mercy.[7] Although the authenticity of this passage has been questioned, we must ultimately accept the mercy element as Hosean.[8]

In Hosea 14:6 occurs the term 'just' or 'righteous' depending upon the translation used. In either case it is an

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1. Hosea 7:7; 13:10.
2. Cf. II Kings 15:14.
3. NCB, MP I, pp. 41-42
4. Cf. Harper, Op.Cit., p. 298,400; ABC, p. 764, 767.
5. Hosea 2:19; 5:1,11; 10:4; 12:6.
6. Hosea 2:19.
7. Cf. p. 70 of this thesis
8. Cf. P. 67 of this thesis

adjective used to describe that type of man who understands

JUST or RIGHTEOUS

the requirements of Yahweh. Since it is foreign to the vocabulary of Hosea,[1] and practically all commentators reject it as being Hosean,[2] we need not concern ourselves further with it.

Hosea's greatest use of the term 'righteousness' occurs in 10:12, although he uses the term to denote right actions in one other passage:[3]

> "Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground: for it is time to seek the Lord, till he come and reign righteousness upon you."

Like 12:6, the authenticity of this 'mercy' passage is often questioned. Kent compares the 'fallow ground' with Jer. 4:3 and concludes that it was added by a later writer familiar

RIGHTEOUSNESS

with Jeremiah;[4] so also the Abingdon Bible Commentary doubts its authenticity.[5] However, as is shown in another chapter of this thesis,[6] care must be used in the rejection of a passage on such grounds, and we ultimately accept this mercy element as Hosean.[7] One commentator concludes that in this passage righteousness and mercy are synonymous, substantiating our interpretation of their relationship in 12:6.[8] Harper sees in this verse three successive commands, each independent, which yield the total of

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1. Harper, Op. Cit., p. 417
2. Harper, Op. Cit., p. 416; ABC, p. 766; NCB, MP I, p. 76; Kent, SEAIP, p. 106.
3. Hosea 2:19.
4. Kent, SEAIP, p. 99.
5. ABC, p. 766.
6. Cf. p. 54, 68 of this thesis.
7. Cf. p.70 of this thesis
8. NCB, MP I, p. 57.

Yahweh's demand of Israel, if they would seek him. Thus it is necessary that they be righteous and merciful toward their fellow men, and that they seek Yahweh in their hearts, if they are to have his reign of righteousness in their lives.[1] In any event, it is evident that righteousness here has a very definite social implication, and carries Hosea's message of man's relationship to man, as it is demanded by Yahweh.

SECTION THREE: ISAIAH

Both Amos and Hosea, as we have seen in the two preceding sections of this chapter, limited themselves to five different words to carry their message of social justice and righteousness to Israel. In the records of Isaiah, son of Amoz,[2] we have no less than twelve such JUDGE words: judge, judges, judging, judgment, judgments, just, justice, justly, right, righteous, righteously, and righteousness. Some of these usages refer to the judge as a class of people synonymous to ruler, and hence do not properly come in the work of this thesis.[3] In 1:17, however, the work 'judge' is used in connection with 'judgment' and bears a definitely social meaning:

"Learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the

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1. Harper, Op. Cit., p 355-356.
2. Found in Isaiah 1-12; 14:24-23 (excepting 21:1-10); 28-33; 36-39.
3. Isaiah 1:26; 3:2; 33:22.

oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." Coming as it does immediately following a description of the current forms of worship, this passage is in opposition to the ceremonial ritualistic worship. Here Yahweh "calls for a moral reformation and enunciates the true conditions on which the restoration of his favor depends."[1] The close interconnection between the words used by the prophet in setting forth his social ideal is here seen, especially if we accept the translation of the New Century Bible which reads:[2]

> "Learn to do right; seek after justice; admonish the oppressor; obtain justice for the orphan; plead the widow's cause."

This translation would imply that to judge means to seek justice and reveals the prophetic ideal of ethics penetrating into the judicial system.[3]

The sole passage in Isaiah using the word 'judging' shows that it is considered in the same sense that we have seen that the term 'judge' is used by the prophet, namely, to seek justice:[4]

> "And in mercy shall the throne be established: and he shall sit upon it in truth in the tabernacle of David, judging, and seeking judgment, and hastening righteousness."

This passage is noteworthy in two respects. First, it reveals the essential connection between the 'justice' concept and

JUDGING

the softer element of mercy which Hosea first set forth. Further, in it we see revealed the idea of a

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1. Skinner, CB, 1, p.8
2. NCB, I, pl 94.
3. For other usages, Cf. Is. 1:23; 2:4; 3:13; 5:3; 11:3,4.
4. Isaiah 16:5.

Messianic age wherein a Messianic ruler would sit upon the throne, judging, "seeking after justice and eagerly bent on righteousness."[1] The passage further reveals the close connection of justice and righteousness in the mind of the prophet.

The word most commonly used by all the prophets coming from the root sh ph ṭ or its synonym m sh p ṭ is the word translated 'judgment'. Isaiah uses this word eighteen JUDGMENT times.[2] It is significant that in fifteen of these instances, it is used in connection with 'righteousness.' One of the most typical of these uses is that occurring in 33:5:

> "The Lord is exalted: for he dwelleth on high; he hath filled Zion with judgment and righteousness."

As Skinner points out, the writer here is encouraged by two thoughts: Israel's God is a spiritual Being, dwelling on high beyond the reach of his adversaries; and He has conferred spiritual blessings upon His people. "The connection of these two may be gathered from ch. ii. 15; it is the outpouring of 'spirit from on high' that has produced the fruit of righteousness in the state. That Israel possesses a religion which is essentially spiritual appears to be the ultimate ground on which the expectation of deliverance is based....'judgment and righteousness' can mean nothing less than personal and civic virtues in the inhabitants of the city."[3] A further important point is in the nature of the

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1. NCB, I, p. 212
2. Isaiah 1:17, 21, 27; 3:14; 4:4; 5:7,16; 9:7; 10:2; 16:3, 5; 28:6, 7, 17; 30:18; 32:1; 16; 33:5.
3. Skinner, CB, I, p. 248.

God revealed here, for Isaiah here posits a spiritual, holy God, and this, we shall later see,[1] was one of his great contributions.

Isaiah uses the word 'just' only once, in 29:21, where it is used in reference to the 'just' at the gate, and evidently refers to anyone who takes the part of the JUST poor, seeking justice, whether such a person be a judge or a private individual.[2] It is, therefore, used to describe the moral man who helps others, regardless of his station in life.

Strange as it may seem, the word 'justice' is used only once in all the eighth century prophets! While this may at first seem strange, especially when a thesis JUSTICE is being written on the concept of 'social justice', it is only due to the fact that for us the word 'justice' includes all the concepts coming from m sh p t and sh ph t which are akin to 'righteousness' or have an ethical implication. The word in the prophetic terminology which most nearly includes this is 'judgment' which is widely used. The one use of 'justice' is found in Isaiah 9:7:

> "Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever."

The question of authenticity at once arises to the surface here, for many scholars hold that this Davidic Messiah con-

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1. Cf. 82 of this thesis.
2. Skinner, CB, I, p. 223.

cept is from a later date.[1] Since authenticity is dealt with in another chapter,[2] we need not consider the question here, only to remark that it is the same line of argument which places all 'hope' passages in the exilic period, and is subject to the same criticism.[3] Here we find the picture of the Davidic ruler who establishes the throne, not with military force, but by the moral qualities of "judgment and righteousness."[4]

The book of Isaiah contains the word 'unrighteous' once, and 'right' five times.[5] The first of these terms, a negative aspect of righteous, is to be found in 10:1, which is followed in 10:2 by a characteristic use of 'right':

> "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed;
> To turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless!"

It would appear that these verses are addressed to the leaders of Israel who oppress the poor by iniquitous laws. By this time there was probably a considerable body of laws,

RIGHT: UNRIGHTOUS

but from this passage we must conclude that there was a great deal of class legislation, which made the oppression of the poor legal.[6] The word 'unrighteous' is used in a social connotation, referring to laws which were anti-social, and oppressive. 'Right' is used to describe what the poor were morally and ethically

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1. Cheyne, Introduction, pp.44ff. 2. Cf. p. 71 ff of this thesis.
3. Cf. p. 54 of this thesis. 4. Skinner, CB, I, p. 76.
5. Is. 9:20; 10:24; 30:10,21; 32:7.
6. Skinner, CB, I, p. 82; NCB, I, p. 159.

entitled to, although they had been legally robbed of their rights. Both, it can be seen, are based upon a fundamental concept of fairness, 'right-ness', which was the current interpretation of the ancient principle of ṣ d q.

The two uses of 'righteous' by Isaiah[1] have the same meaning, namely, that class of people who live righteously, who do justice. In the Revised Version, 3:10 is

RIGHTEOUS

translated "say ye of the righteous". Skinner suggests that it should be translated, "Happy is the righteous, for it is well with him."[2] Thus the prophet would be promising a reward for those who will have an attitude of righteousness toward life.

Isaiah's usage of 'righteously' is confined to one passage, 33:15, wherein it is used to describe the man who shall "dwell on high":

> "He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil; He shall dwell on high:"

In this passage it is evident that 'righteously' means he that walketh in accordance with the standards which Yahweh imposes upon men. Thus the verse gives what might be called a 'bill of specifications' of the righteous man. It gives us insight into the mind of the prophet, and shows what he meant when he spoke of the righteous man or of righteousness. The most significant point for us is the

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1. Isaiah 3:10; 5:23. 2. Skinner, CB, I, p.25.

fact that righteousness depends upon ethical social actions.

We have already seen that Isaiah related 'judgment' or 'justice' to 'righteousness' as did Amos and Hosea.[1] Out of his fifteen uses of 'righteousness',[2] ten are used in conjunction with 'judgment'. As with Amos, so Isaiah seemed to see the close inter-relation between the two terms, using both to present his message of the requirements of God from man. Although, as we have seen in this section, he uses a wider variety of forms, basically his social message was tied up in the idea of justice among men, based upon the righteous character of Yahweh. Thus, he too, presents a gospel of social justice and righteousness.

RIGHTEOUSNESS

JUDGE

SECTION FOUR: MICAH

Micah uses the word 'judge' three times,[3] once as a noun meaning 'ruler', and twice as a verb, expressing the action of bringing about justice. In 7:3, 'judge' refers to the ruler of whom 'justice' is expected, who is ready for a reward. The condition described here is one of corruption and bribery. One of the most familiar passages is 4:3, wherein 'judge' is used in the modern sense, as the act of judging, or deciding right from wrong in a controversy:

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1. See p. 42 of this thesis.
2. Isaiah 1:21,26,27; 5:7,16,23; 10:22; 11:4; 16:5; 28:17; 32:1,16,17; 33:5.
3. Micah 3:11; 4:3; 7:3.

> "And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

This passage raises the question of authenticity, and possible connection with Isaiah ii.2-4. The question of authenticity is dealt with in another chapter,[1] but we might here suggest, with Horton, that the argument which places this type of passage in the exile is usually subjective in nature.[2] As to who originally used the thought, and who copied it from his contemporary we do not know. It is important in that it shows the close relation in thought between Micah and Isaiah. 'Judge' in this passage refers to the work of the Messianic ruler who mediates the Divine law to all nations. In that time, war will be unnecessary.[3]

JUDGMENT: RIGHTEOUSNESS

The term 'judgment', used four times by Micah,[4] has the same meaning for this prophet that it did for the preceding three, i.e., the bringing about of justice. In 7:9 the prophet uses 'judgment' in connection with 'righteousness', but in a slightly different sense than is common for the prophets:

> "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness."

Although 'judgment' here has the common prophetic meaning, 'righteousness' is used to describe an attribute of God

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1. Cf. p. 83 ff. of this thesis.
2. NCB, MP I, pp.243,244.
3. Ibid., p. 245.
4. Micah 3:1,8,9; 7:9.

which will express itself in his faithfulness in bringing Judah's ultimate vindication.[1] "When Yahweh has entered into a covenant it is only right for him to fulfill it."[2] In the preceding sections of this chapter we have seen that with Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, the concepts of 'judgment' and 'righteousness' were practically synonymous. Here, however, the distinction which we previously made between the two[3] is more clearly shown: judgment (m sh p ṭ) is an act or way of bringing about the attitude of righteousness (ṣ d q), which, according to Micah, is an attribute of God.

Each of the eighth century prophets have a passage in which they summarize their message of social justice and righteousness, first stating the current ritualistic JUSTLY and ceremonial requirements, and then superseding them by a clear statement of the moral requirements of the worshippers of Yahweh. Micah, in his climactic summary, not only summarizes his own position, but that of those who have gone before him:[4]

> "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

In thus setting forth "the content of true religion,"[5] Micah places first the idea of 'doing justly'. Not ritual, but righteousness, is what Yahweh demands of his people.[6]

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1. 2. NCB, MP I, p. 267.
3. Cf. p. 4 of this thesis. 4. Micah 6:8.
5. Kent, SEAIP, p. 146.
6. ABC, p. 796. See also Driver, ILOT, p. 331 and NCB, MP I, p. 260.

Amos was right, according to Micah, for Yahweh does demand justice and righteousness of his followers; Hosea was right, for justice must be tempered by the softer element, mercy, which is really a part of righteousness; Isaiah was right, for Yahweh is a holy God, and man must walk in humility before Him if he is to truly know Him. But back of all these concepts, and undergirding them, is the assurance that Yahweh is a god of righteousness.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORICAL SITUATIONS AND BACKGROUNDS: THE PROPHETIC REACTION

A complete interpretation of the teachings of any man demand that knowledge also be had of the mind out of which come the teachings, and of the external stimuli, or historical conditions. Hence as we approach the Eighth

INTRODUCTORY Century prophets in an attempt to discover their development of the concept of social justice and righteousness, we shall first approach them as individuals, and as citizens of their age. Since we are dealing with materials which have doubtlessly suffered from transmission, we shall also find it necessary to devote a brief section in a consideration of the authenticity of the various sections of the works now purpoted to be the product of the prophets considered. Thus our treatment of each of the prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah will develop along the line of a critical introduction, including the date and authenticity of the book and a biographical sketch of the author, a study of the historical situations faced by the prophet, the prophetic reaction to this situation, and the prophetic contribution to the teachings of the nation, especially as this contribution affects the concepts of social justice and righteousness.

SECTION ONE: AMOS

Amos has rightly been called the prophet of social justice. The exact date of this prophecy is not known, but

from the superscription we[1] know that Amos was called by

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION: DATE

Yahweh to prophesy at Bethel in the reign of Jeroboam II in Israel, whose dates were 785-745 B.C. Internal evidence, such as the economic conditions and the position of the poor, suggest that Amos appeared after the successes of Jeroboam II,[2] and hence suggest a late date in the reign of this monarch. There is considerable variation in the exact date of this prophet, ranging from 760 B.C.[3] to 745 B.C.[4]

AUTHOR

While there is little of biographical material in the book of Amos, and the Bible reveals nothing further directly concerning the man, we can discover considerable about him. From the Biblical sources, we know that Amos was a sheepherder of Tekoa, and a dresser of sycamore trees.[5] This tells us that he was wont to travel, for Tekoa is about 3,000 feet high, and the sycamore does not grow at an altitude of above 1,000 feet. Further, as a shepherd, his occupation would from time to time call him to visit the great markets of Judah and Israel, giving him an insight into the new and horrible conditions of the cities, and burden his mind with the greed and grief that he saw. As a shepherd at Tekoa, he would be much in solitude herding his flocks on the Tekoan highlands, from where he could see great distances and look down on the rest of his surroundings. The rugged solitude doubtlessly greatly affected the man. The

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1. Amos 1:1. 2. Cf. II Kings 14:25 3. Leslie, Op.Cit. 4. Knopf, "Hebrew History", Univ. So. Cal., 1930-31. 5. Am. 1:1; 7:15.

story of his call, as revealed in 3:7-8, suggests that his call had in it, not only the element of certainty, but also set the keynote for his message of rugged doom. Other instances, such as the conflict between him and the chief priest Amaziah,[1] reveal the bravery of the man, for not only did he define his own message by denying that he was connected to the bands of the prophets who were commercialized, but he also prophesied the downfall of the kingdom, realizing all the while that the king of Israel would hear of his prophecy and probably attempt to punish him. Amos also revealed himself to be a keen student of psychology, and a good speaker, by his forceful way of getting the attention of his audience by first prophesying the downfall of Israel's enemies. But by far the most characteristic elements of the man were his emphatic attitude of doom, and even greater, his insistence upon righteousness in national life and worship: "Let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."[2]

CRITICAL STUDY OF THE BOOK

Space forbids a detailed study of the contents of the book, but we note the divisions and general content, and attempt to consider the question of authenticity of some of the doubtful sections. As Eiselen shows, "the book of Amos gives evidence of orderly and systematic arrangement, on the basis of logical rather than chronological grouping of the utterances. In broad outline

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1. Amos 7:16, 17. 2. Amos 5:24.

the development of the thought is as follows: The book opens with threats of judgment against six non-Israelitish nations, against Judah, and especially against Israel. These are followed by the presentation of the reasons for the judgment and five visions of the execution of the judgment upon both the godly and the ungodly, the book closes with a description of the exaltation and glory of the remnant that will escape the judgment. The book naturally falls into three divisions: Chapters 1 and 2, which are in the nature of a prologue; chapters 2 to 6, a series of discourses; and chapters 7 to 9, a series of visions interrupted by a piece of narrative and short remarks on the same subjects as are discussed in chapters 3 to 6." [1]

In considerating the authenticity of the various sections of the book of Amos, we shall not enter into a discussion on any of the sections save those wherein there is a considerable degree of agreement of scholars in the matter of rejection, although many other passages could be cited as considered doubtful by some scholars, especially Duhm. The authenticity of the superscription need not be considered, for while several scholars doubt its authenticity none reject its historical validity. In the matter of the so-called doxologies, [2] however, the case is different. These sections are oftimes rejected on three grounds. First, it is held that although they are skillfully placed and worded

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1. Eiselen, PBOT, v.ii, p. 404 2. Amos 4:13; 5:8-9; 9:5-6.

so as to fit the context, they still show a decided break in the matter of both style and content, moving from a previous section involving the judgment of Yahweh, to the doxology which stresses his greatness. The second argument is that the concept of Yahweh as the Creator, which is predominant in these sections is from the exilic or post-exilic period. The danger of this type of argument must be recognized, for it sets up a premise concerning the thought of a certain age, and then rejects all passages in disagreement with the premise, which is oftimes merely the pet theory of some scholar. It is with this type of reasoning that Duhm practically annihilates the Jeremian content of Jeremiah. The third argument, which is based on the same type of reasoning as the second, would reject the doxologies because of their use of the phrase 'Jehovah of hosts is his name.' While the two later arguments are subject to criticism, and the first is not entirely conclusive, the strength of all three is sufficient, we believe, to place the date of these doxologies at some time during the exilic or post-exilic periods, and their author as some Judean editor.[1]

The most important of the doubted sections of Amos is the so-called Epilogue, found in 9:8b-15. After a continual and forceful presentation to Israel of the impending judgment to come to all nations, especially to the house of Israel, who had prostituted her divine favor,

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1. For similar doxologies, see Isa. 43:1,7; 45:18; Job 9:8.

he comes to a terrible and intense climax in 9:8a, predicting the complete destruction of the Israelites. Immediately following this dramatic pronunciation, the Epilogue completely breaks with the pessimistic thought by promising a happy future for the remnant. Notwithstanding this break in thought, it has been argued that this Epilogue is authentic, for the prophets were oftimes inconsistent, giving an element of hope in the deepest sections of doom. However, strong arguments can be brought for the view that this Epilogue is not from Amos. It is not consistent with Amos' repeated messages of gloom; the favorable attitude of Amos toward Judah as over against Israel is not characteristic; the materialistic conception of this blessing to the exclusion of the moral is certainly directly in opposition to the main message of Amos; the reference to the fallen tabernacle appears to be exilic or post-exilic, and the hostility toward Edom is certainly post-exilic. From these arguments we hold that this Epilogue is not from the mouth of Amos, but a later post-exilic addition.

We have seen the man as he faced the world of his day, and have studied his book critically, so it now behooves us to turn to that day and see what was the need which existed. Externally, the situation of Israel was rather placid, although in the east the shadow of the Assyrian eagle[1] was increasingly falling across the land. Israel

HISTORICAL SITUATION: EXTERNAL CONDITIONS

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1. Amos 3:11.

held vassalage over Judah, and both countries were at peace. As has been shown,[1] Uzziah was king in Judah, and Jeroboam II was king in Israel. It was the period of post-Aramaean war inflation, and a period of national expansion. Under the instigation of the prophets, Israel expanded until she practically regained her Davidic limits.[2]

It was to this expansion that Amos could look for the source of the injustices which he was forced to battle. Foremost among these was the oppression of the poor. The passages from Amos which reveal this condition have already been quoted and referred to in another connection,[3] but we shall quote a further passage to reveal the nature of this crime:

> "Hear this word, ye kine of Bashan, that are in the mountain of Samaria, that oppress the poor, that crush the needy, that say unto their lords, 'Bring, and let us drink.'" (4:1)

This passage reveals that even the women, who are supposed to set the standard of morality for a nation, have so fallen that they are even worse than their lords.

Closely akin to this oppression of the poor was the problem of unequal distribution of wealth, and its attendant problems of luxury and ease of one class while another slaved for the necessities of life. This problem is best set forth in 6:3-5:

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1. 2. 2 Kings 14:25.
2.
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> "---ye that put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that sing idle songs to the sound of the viol; that invent for themselves instruments of music, like David;"

A further economic problem faced by Amos was that of injustice and corrupt officials. They are quite clearly implicit in two sections especially:

> "They hate him that speaketh in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly."

The meaning of this passage is to be found in the ancient custom of the elders of cities to meet in the arena just within the gate to consider questions of justice. Thus those who hated him who speaketh uprightly in the gate hate justice and desire injustice, that they might gain thereby.

> "Hear this, O ye that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, when will the new moon be gone, that we may sell grain? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat, making the ephod small and the shekel great, and dealing falsely with balances of deceit; that we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes and sell the refuse of the wheat?" (8:4-6)

The economic and social problems were not the only ones faced by Amos when he appeared before the worshippers at Bethel. The very fact that he could be justified in giving such a pronouncement of doom and judgment against the nation, especially when a large portion of it was gathered at the national sanctuary for worship, reveals that there was also a religious problem involved. There were really two interwoven fallacious ideas concerning worship which Amos had to fight, the first hinging

around the idea of sacrifice, and the other around certain other Baalistic influences in the worship of the people. The problem of sacrifice was one which received a large proportion of Amos' time, because the people were using sacrifice as the whole factor in worship, and were entirely overlooking the moral demands of social justice and righteousness. This view was manifested in the idea that God wished ritual, and that the use of wealth in worship was the prime consideration, regardless of how that wealth was accumulated. This attitude is best expressed in the introduction to the climactic 24th verse of Amos 5:[1]

> "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though you offer me burnt-offerings and meal-offerings I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of your viols." (5:21-23)

The chief Baalistic influence in Israelitish worship other than the sacrificial system with which Amos had to contend was the practice of sacred prostitution. This situation, about which we learn a great deal from the book of Hosea, was evidently in existence in as marked degree in Amos' day. It was somewhat characteristic of all ancient religions, and was an attempt to find union with the goddess of fertility by union with one of her servants. This problem finds expression in 2:7c:

> "and a man and his father go unto the same maiden, to profane my holy name;"

A further problem against which Amos battled was

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1. Cf. Amos 4:4-5; 5:25-26.

the sense of superiority which the Israelites felt in consequence of their belief in their unique relation to Yahweh. This is the thought expressed in 3:1b-2:

> "O children of Israel, against the whole family which I brought up out of the land of Egypt, saying, You only have I known of all the families of the earth:"

Wade has summarized the conditions of the nation at the time of Amos in a very credible fashion: "The formal religion was accompanied by wide-spread social corruption. The external prosperity which Israel and Judah enjoyed during the rule of Jeroboam II and Uzziah respectively was attended by many internal disorders. There was a growing separation of class from class. The luxury of the rich contrasted glaringly with the poverty of the poor. Landed property was becoming concentrated in the hands of a few; and the expropriation of the smaller by the greater landowners appears to have been marked by harshness and cruelty. Justice was wrested in the interest of the powerful; robbery and murder were rife; the priesthood (at least in Israel), instead of being foremost in stemming the tide of wickedness, seems to have been as guilty as any other order in the community."[1]

Against these problems of social injustice and religious sterility and sin, Amos threw himself with an earnestness and intensity which might be called desperation. He

PROPHETIC REACTION: THE TEACHINGS OF AMOS

first attacked the idea of national superiority by showing that the God of Israel is the creator and controller of the universe,

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1. Wade, G.W., Old Testament History, 9th ed., p. 404.

and is everywhere present in it:

> "And I have also with-holden the rain from you, when there were yet three months to the harvest; and I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained withered not. So two or three cities wandered unto one city to drink water, and were not satisfied: Yet have ye not returned unto me, saith Jehovah. I have smitten you with blasting and mildew: the multitude of your gardens and your vineyards and your fig-trees and your olive-trees hath the palmer worm devoured: yet you have not returned unto me, saith Jehovah." (4:7-9)[1]

Amos also taught that Jehovah was the God of universal history and that he was interested in the history of all nations, and directed it:

> "Are not ye as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith Jehovah. Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?" (9:7)
> "For, lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among the nations, like as grain is sifted in a sieve." (9:9a)[2]

Amos further teaches that the choice of Israel was not for her own sake, but was made by Yahweh that she might fulfill a mission in the world:

> "You only have I known of all the families of the earth." (3:2a)[3]

Amos meets the problems of false worship, including that of sacred prostitution and sacrifices instead of moral living, by showing that religion and morality belong together:

> "But let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." (5:24)[4]

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1. Cf. Amos 4:13; 5:8
2. Cf. Amos 1:13-15; 5:27; 6:14; 9:7.
3. Cf. Amos 5:18; 6:13.
4. Cf. Amos 2:8; 4:4f.; 5:21-23.

He further shows that social injustice results ultimately in the ruin of the nation:

> "Shall horses run upon the rock? will one plow there with oxen? that ye have turned justice into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood; ye that rejoice in a thing of nought, that say, Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength? For, behold, I will raise up a nation against you, O house of Israel, saith Jehovah, the God of hosts." (6:12-14) [1]

There are two teachings in Amos' work which have not yet been considered here, so we will now take them up. The first of these is the idea of a Day of Jehovah. This conception in Israelitish thought had always been associated with a day of glorification and gladness, when Israel would be established as the ruler of all peoples by her God. Amos gave this day an ethical interpretation, and said that it would be a day of universal judgment, but not a day of joy, but rather of fear:

> "Woe unto you that desire the day of Jehovah! Wherefore would ye have the day of Jehovah? It is darkness and not light. As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him; or went into the house and leaned his hand on a wall, and a serpent bit him. Shall not the day of Jehovah be darkness and not light? even very dark, and no brightness in it?" (5:18-20)

From this it can be seen that Amos conceives the Day of Jehovah from a very different viewpoint from the popular conception, and believes it to be inescapable when it comes.

In considering the elements of mercy in Amos, we must give due credit for the inclusion of these elements in the book. Some feel that these are not genuine, because

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1. Cf. Amos 2:6; 3:10; 5:7,11f.; 8:4-6.

the general tenor of the book is pessimistic, but these are apparently from the man Amos, and represent another phase of the man:

> "Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live; and so Jehovah, the God of hosts, will be with you, as ye say. Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish justice in the gate: it may be that Jehovah, the God of hosts, will be gracious unto the remnant of Israel."[1]

This mercy element is also set forth in the three related visions of 7:1-10, wherein Amos asks the pathetic question, "O, Lord, Jehovah, forgive I beseech thee: how shall Jacob stand, for he is small?" Twice the Lord says, "It shall not be," but the third time, Israel is condemned. In all of these passages it would seem that a real element of Amos' teachings are presented. For if he did not have some type of redemptive message, but was entirely destructive, it would be useless for him to be preaching, for nothing could be done about it. So it would appear that we must accept his merciful element as genuine.

In concluding this section on the teachings of Amos, it should be again borne in mind that the great contribution was the new definition of religion in terms of something other than sacrifice, i.e., as justice, a justice which, we have seen, is tempered in a small degree with mercy. This contribution is best expressed in all its dramatic bearing when seen in its proper context in Amos' own words:

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1. Cf. Amos 5:4-9.

"I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me your burnt-offerings and meal-offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace-offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of your viols. But let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a might stream." (5:21-24)

SECTION TWO: HOSEA,

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION: DATE.

Like Amos, the exact date of Hosea cannot be definitely ascertained. This second of the literary prophets evidently wrote and worked a short time later than Amos, his first section, chapters 1-3 coming from near the end of the reign of Jeroboam II, and the section in 4-14 coming from the chaotic period following Jeroboam's death. This would date his prophecy from about 740-735 B.C.[1]

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Nothing is known of the author of this book, save what is revealed in the context. The superscription tells us nothing of importance, so we turn to the book itself to seek to discover the nature of the man. From a different background, and with nearly the same conditions, Hosea presented a vastly different message from that presented by Amos. If we interpret chapters 1-3 as the experience of the prophet,[2] we see that he married a woman who was unfaithful to him, but that he loved her even in her sin and eventually succeeded in saving her. From this experience, he reasoned, God must be like him in his love, only infinitely greater, and He would woo Israel, the harlot, back to His love, if she would but respond. Thus we see a man who approached the problem of Israel's sins from internal, personal point of view, rather

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1. Kent, SEAIP, p. 81. NCB (MP 1, p. 10) gives the dates 750-729 B.C.; ABC, p. 759, suggests 743-733 B.C., while Knopf places the date at 740 B.C.
2. Cf. p. 65 of this thesis.

than from the external view of universal ethics which Amos used.[1] "We might say that Amos presents religion in terms of morality, while Hosea presents morality in terms of religion.....The melody of Amos was harmonized by Hosea."[2] From this interpretation of the experiences of Hosea, we can conclude that the man was one of deep spiritual feelings, and natively religious in his outlook. In temper, a stern justice was tempered by a mercy which so dominated his life that it made it possible for him to make his great contribution of Divine Mercy to the stream of Israel's prophecy.

CRITICAL STUDY OF THE BOOK

The book of Hosea falls into two distinct groups. Chapters 1-3 is a narrative of events, which tells the story of the experiences of Hosea. "We are to conceive the prophet as passing through the singular domestic experience which he describes, and then recognizing that God has permitted these things to happen to him as a lesson of judgment and mercy to Israel."[3] Even though this section be considered as the real experience of Hosea, there is still the problem of the interpretation of chapter three. Marti rejects this chapter as a later interpretation inserted here to emphasize the relation of Jehovah to Israel. TH Robertson believes it to be a second fragmentary account of the same event described in chapter one, while Sellin believes it to be a singular homogeneous story

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1. Leslie, Op.Cit.
2. ABC p. 759.
3. NCB, MP 1, p. 10.

in the first person. Probably, so he thinks, chapter three represents another phase of the total experience and supplements 1:1-9.[1] This first section is not always accepted as the experience of Hosea. Maimonides, Kiel, and others of the earlier school regarded it as a vision or trance. Hugo Gressmann[2] interprets this section to be an allegory, revealing nothing of the career of Hosea. This view, however, is not widely accepted.

The later part of the book, chapters 4-14, leaves the story of Hosea's domestic tragedy, while the prophet "proceeds in a succession of brief, pregnant, and sometimes unconnected utterances to denounce the political and social corruptions of his time, and to plead with the people to return to their God." [3] Throughout this section, however, references are made to the experiences of Hosea with Gomer, especially in his comparison of Israel to the harlot lover of Yahweh. The sins of Israel are (1) the worship of images and other Baalistic influences, for which the priests are responsible, having failed to teach the people that God requires mercy and the knowledge of God, not sacrifices: (2) the fall and corruption of the kings who followed one another in rapid succession, but who were all guilty of iniquity: (3) the political alliances with Egypt and Assyria instead of reliance on God. The prophet calls on the people to

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1. Leslie, Op.Cit.
2. Gressmann, Die Schriften des alten Testaments in Auswahl (selected)
3. NCB, MP 1, p. 11.

repent for all these things which constitute a breach of the marriage ties between God and Israel, showing that such a repentence cannot be achieved without another sojourn in captivity, with loss of religious and political privileges. But as he has saved his own unfaithful wife from the horror of her sins, so will Yahweh save Israel from her sins, and draw her back to Him. "The book ends with an appeal, passionate and tender, in which the voices of the prophets and of God and of the repentant people form a great amoebean symphony. The fall of the nation, and the deposition of the apostate kings, are forgotten, and nothing remains but that eternal and spiritual drama transacted between the soul and God."[1]

AUTHENTICITY

Although the entire book of Hosea is not now accepted as coming from Hosea, the text has not been subjected to as much criticism as has been the case with Amos. "The alleged secondary elements, apart from words and sentences of minor importance, may be grouped as follows: (1) References to Judah; (2) passages picturing the glories of the future; (3) 'phrases and sentences of a technical archaeological or historical character, inserted by way of expansion or explanation'; (4) miscellaneous glosses and interpolations for which no special motive can be discovered."[2] The arguments pro and con for each of the above types cannot be given here, but it is sufficient to point out that the first and second may be valid, but are usually based

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1. NCB, MP 1, p. 12.
2. ABC, p. 261.

on the same type of argument we noted concerning the authenticity of the hope elements in Amos,[1] and that in the second we must arrive at the same conclusion that we did there, i.e., that while much of remnant promises picture a materialistic blessing and hence must be discarded as incongruous with the teachings of the prophet, still some of the sections do doubtlessly express a hope that the prophet felt for the future.[2] This is more cogent in the case of Hosea than it was with Amos, for while Amos was primarily a prophet of stern justice, one of the most significent elements of the prophecy of Hosea is that of Divine Mercy, which would naturally express itself in the forgiveness of the harlot nation. It is sufficient here to note that "while the book is not entirely free from later interpolations, the later comments are by no means as numerous as some recent writers seem to think. Moreover, the later additions do not modify in any fundamental way the teaching of the prophet Hosea."[3]

HISTORICAL SITUATION

The historical and internal situations facing the prophet Hosea were very similar to those which Amos faced only a few years earlier.[4] Nationally and internationally, it was even worse than in the day of Amos, for with the death of Jeroboam II in 743 B.C., there began a series of intrigues and murders which put six men on the throne within a dozen years, brought about an alliance

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1. Cf. p. 54 of this thesis.
2. Ibid, pp. 55-59.
3. ABC, p. 761.
4. Cf. p.56-58.

with Assyria by which one king supported himself on the throne with the aid of Assyrian forces, bought at the price of a heavy tribute to the eagle of the east, and eventuated ~~with~~ in the complete destruction of the northern kingdom in 721 B.C. at the hand of the Assyrians. Internally, the same corruption, greed, graft and economic oppression of the poor which Amos revealed, continued. Likewise, the same fallacious ideas of the requirements of Yahweh were prevalant.[1]

PROPHETIC REACTION: THE TEACHING OF HOSEA

Seeing even deeper than did his predecessor, Hosea with keen prophetic insight, saw that the real difficulty was that the people had a false concept of God, and that the international and internal problems were really the outgrowth of this fallacious idea of God. Hence in meeting the problems, one of his chief approaches was along the path that all understood, that of love. Drawing from his own tragic experience with his wife, he showed that God in his great love was like the prophet's undying love, which would lift the loved one from the death of sin into the life of forgiveness and love. He thus met the problem of sacred prostitution by showing the sacredness of love, and the everlasting quality of true love. To meet the social injustices, he taught that forgiveness without penitence was impossible, implying that Israel must repent of her sins if she were to be again the wife of God.[2]

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1. Ibid. 2. Knopf, "Hebrew History", Univ. So. Calif., 1930-1931.

The great contribution of Hosea was in his teaching of the Divine Mercy of God, as well as his justice and righteousness. Hosea did not attempt to supersede Amos' teachings of the divine righteousness and justice, and of these requirements of God for man,[1] but he did see that they were not enough, that in the nature of God there was a softer element, which allowed even the greatest sinner nation, Israel, to repent if she but would, and return forgiven. This mercy is expressed most vividly in two passages, Hosea 12:6, and 6:6:

> "Therefore turn thou to thy God, keep mercy and judgment, and wait on thy God continually." (12:6).

> "For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." (6:6).

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1. Amos 10:12.

SECTION THREE: ISAIAH,

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

The task of summarizing the work and message of Isaiah, son of Amoz, is indeed difficult, for not only is the book of Isaiah one of the longest and most important in the Old Testament, but the period of activity during which the prophet worked, extended over a period of forty years, and included many major crises in the life of Judah. The dates of the several periods of activity of the prophet differ with different authorities. However, all are agreed that his work evidently began in the year King Uzziah of Judah died,[1] which was about 740 B.C. The second period, hinging around the invasion of the West by Tiglath-Pileser III and the Damascene crisis, comes about 734 B.C. Leslie places the third period at 722 B.C. , the fall of Samaria; the fourth period at the time of the campaign of Sargon against the west in 720 B.C.; the fifth period coming from the campaign of Sargon against Judah and her allies; and the sixth from the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 B.C.[2] Knopf places the third period at the time of the attempted conspiracy against Assyria in about 711 B.C., and the fourth period about the time of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah in 701 B.C.[3]

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1. Isaiah 6:1.
2. Leslie, Op.Cit. Leslie also presents Kittel, to suggest the four period division in the work of Isaiah.
3. Knopf, Op.Cit. Kent, SEAIP, and Kittel make this four-period division in Isaiah's work, although they each give different sets of dates. However, all the dates agree within a few years.

We know more of the author of the book of Isaiah than we do of Amos or Hosea, for his book abounds in internal evidence revealing the nature, character, and station of the man. He was probably born about the year 760 B.C. in the city of Jerusalem. Of Amoz, his father, we know little, although Jewish tradition makes him the brother of king Amaziah, and hence the cousin of Uzziah. His whole work suggests that he was high in favor in the city, for he readily gained an audience with kings, and he was allowed in the temple, which was reserved for priests or members of the royal house. Little is known of his youth. If he were of the royal family, one would expect him to have a very roseate view of the future, for the reign of Uzziah was very prosperous for Judah. There were three things, however, which may have been of great influence to give him his prophetic outlook rather than the outlook of a court patrician. From the history of the reign of Uzziah, from the superscription of the book of Amos, and from the book of Zechariah we know that during the reign of Uzziah there occurred an earthquake of great severity, which doubtless left its impression on a mind as serious as that of the young Isaiah. Then, too, we see from his book that he was greatly influenced by the work of his predecessors Amos and Hosea. But the most vivid and important influence to enter his life was his call while worshipping in the Temple. In a mystical experience he saw Jehovah, a holy and righteous God, and felt the call to service as a prophet.

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This call, doubtlessly was the real source of the prophetic activity of Isaiah.

COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK

The composition of the book of Isaiah is so intricate that only a summary of the composition can be given here. There seem to be four main sections from the prophetic activity of Isaiah, son of Amoz:

Chapters 1-12 contain Isaiah's social message; chapters 14:24-23 (end of chapter) contains the prophet's message concerning foreign nations (21:1-10 must be excepted); chapters 28-33 is a condemnation of Israel and Judah for their dependence upon Egypt, showing the folly of this policy and revealing the clear emergence of an Egyptian and an Assyrian party; chapters 36-39 parallel the accounts found in II Kings 18:13-20:19, and may not be from Isaiah. Near the close of the Exile, but before Deutero-Isaiah, an unknown author wrote chapters 13:1-14:23, a prophecy against Babylon, chapter 21: 1-10, the approaching fall of Babylon described, and chapters 34-35 contrasting the fate of Edom and Judah. Deutero-Isaiah, writing about 540 B.C., composed Isaiah 40-55. Chapters 55-66 comes from Trito-Isaiah from about 460-450 B.C., and is not a unity, in all probability. The small Apocalypse, coming from about 330 B.C., is found in chapters 24-27, and is a prophecy of world judgment, ressurection, and immortality.[1]

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1. Leslie, Op. Cit.

It is difficult to accurately trace the historical situations faced by Isaiah in detail, because of the divergent views as to the divisions of his message.[1] It is evident that the first period was at the time of the death of Uzziah, in about 740 B.C. Doubtlessly he was stirred to prophetic activity by the political disturbances occasioned by the change in rule, and by the Assyrian threat which was by this time becoming very real to prophetic eyes. Internationally, he advised that the nation stand fast and avoid intrigues, showing that Jerusalem represented the ideal city of Yahweh, and was thus inviolable. In the life of the people around him, however, he saw much that was not ideal, for the conditions of oppression of the poor which held sway in the times of Amos and Hosea were far from remedied.[2] He therefore made this inviolability of Jerusalem contingent upon reformation.

HISTORICAL SITUATIONS AND PROPHETIC REACTION

PERIOD ONE
C. 740 B.C.

The second period of Isaiah's activity comes about 734 B.C., at the time of the invasion of the west by Tiglath-Pileser III. Shortly before this, Pekahiah the son of Menahem of Israel who had been an Assyrian vassal, was murdered by Pekah, who seized the throne. With Rezin of Damascus he plotted to overthrow the power of Assyria in the west. When Ahaz, king of Judah, refused to join the conspiracy, they campaigned against him

PERIOD TWO
C. 734 B.C.

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1. Cf. p. 71 of this thesis. 2. Ibid, pp. ~~19, 25.~~ 55-59.

with the view of putting a pro-Syrian on the throne. At this juncture Isaiah came before Ahaz as he was inspecting the city's water supply and told him not to fear, for Jehovah would protect Jerusalem. He also sternly told him not to appeal to Assyria for aid, for that policy he saw was the way of death for Israel. He even challenged Ahaz to ask a sign, that the testimony of Jehovah might be shown. When Ahaz refused to do so, Isaiah said that a young woman (virgin) should conceive and bear a son, but before he was old enough to understand, the lands of these two whom Ahaz feared should be wasted by Assyria.[1] Ahaz, however, refused to heed the advice of Isaiah, and dispatched messengers to Assyria seeking aid, and promising vast tribute. When the Assyrian monarch arrived at Damascus after destroying Rezin, Ahaz hurried to seek his favor, and not only promised a tribute which bankrupted Judah, but introduced Assyrian worship into Jerusalem.

Isaiah was next stimulated to prophetic activity by the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C. (following Leslie[2]). Hoshea of Israel, who had saved Samaria in the previous Assyrian campaign by revolting to Assyrian vassalage after seizing the throne, now revolted against Assyria when Tiglath-Pileser died. Shalmanezer hurried west and besieged Samaria. His son, Sargon, captured the city in 721 B.C., and carried away

PERIOD THREE
721 B.C.

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1. Isaiah 7.

2. Cf. p 71 of this paper.

most of the inhabitants, marking the end of the northern kingdom. This event inspired the prophet Isaiah to activity, who showed that the destruction of Samaria was justified, for she had fallen completely away from Jehovah, and was led by drunkards and scoundrels. He uses this event to set forth his philosophy of history, showing that God might use the Assyrians as instruments in bringing about his purpose, but distinctly separating God's ultimate purpose for the Assyrians from their own purposes, for the destruction of Assyria shall be as complete as that of Israel.[1]

In 720 B.C., Ahaz was succeeded by his son, Hezekiah, who was an entirely different type of king. He seemed to be of a religious mind, and was instrumental in

FOURTH PERIOD
711 B.C.

leading a great reform in the religious life of the nation. It is probable, however, that this reform did not come till late in his reign, and that for nine years there was little activity of note in his reign. Then in 711 B.C., trouble began brewing. A certain Ethiopian king, Shabaka, had gained control of Egypt, and had ambitions of a kingdom of western Asia. He attempted to form a series of independent western Asia states. The time seemed ripe, for in the east a certain Merodach-Baladin had risen to power and seized and held Babylon against Sargon. A league was actually formed, including Judah, but only Ashdod revolted and Sargon crushed that attempt so quickly that the other members scurried to cover. The same situa-

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1. Isaiah 28, 10.

tion arose in 710 B.C., for Sargon was forced to fight a battle for existence with Merodach-Baladin, but he was victorious, and the Babylonian dropped from sight for a time. During these crises the prophet Isaiah was far from inactive. He steadfastly and continuously agitated against any conspiracy or intrigue, and even objectified his teaching by going barefooted through the streets of Jerusalem to show how Judah would be led away captive if she broke her allegiance with Assyria.

Closely akin to the fourth period of his ministry but with far more disastrous results accruing to justify his prophecies, we find that the next period of Isaiah's ministry was likewise the outgrowth of a policy of revolt from Assyria on the part of Hezekiah. This occurred in 705 B.C., when Sargon was murdered by his son and successor, Sennacherib. The empire was split asunder and Sennacherib was forced to fight his way back to power. While the new ruler was fighting in the east, politics in the western states were in a seething condition, with many nations seeking to form alliances, and Jerusalem, the strongest city in the area was the foci of political activity. At this time, Hezekiah fell seriously ill, and only the prayers of Isaiah saved his life. This sickness and recovery was the excuse for Merodach-Baladin to send an embassy to Jerusalem which was really political. He was for the moment holding Sennacherib at bay, and if he could divert the ruler's attention to Palestine by a revolu-

FIFTH PERIOD
705-701 B.C.

tion there, he felt he would have a good chance to establish himself permanently. Against this policy the prophet cast his influence with deadly earnestness, for he clearly realized that it was suicidal for Judah. He severely criticized Hezekiah for showing the envoys the treasury and arsenals of the nation, for he realized that this would not only invoke the wrath of Assyria, but would stimulate the greed of Babylon if she should become a world power. The doom which Isaiah saw for the nation in this policy of intrigue was not long in appearing. Both Egypt and Babylon proved to be the quaking reeds Isaiah had proclaimed them, for Sennacherib soon mastered Babylon, and turned his attention to the political situation in the west. The Egyptian forces were routed, and Sennacherib invaded Judah. As he approached the city, the courage of the defense crumbled, and the ones who had been most persistent in the cry for rebellion were the quickest to flee. Hezekiah was forced to completely submit and pay an enormous indemnity, totally stripping the city of its wealth, and even sending his own daughters to swell the harem of the Assyrian at Nineveh. He had saved his crown and his city, but practically nothing else. His former territory was divided among Sennacherib's Philistine vassals. This was really an hour of victory for Isaiah. For thirty years, he had labored against any policy of intrigue or of breaking with Assyria, and had predicted this outcome, and now his prophecy had been fulfilled, but

at what cost! The country was laid waste, with only a remnant of Jerusalem's splendor remaining. It was now time to rebuild upon the true foundation of faith in Jehovah which Judah had abandoned. This was Isaiah's next task.

SIXTH PERIOD: REFORM OF HEZEKIAH: C. 700 B.C.

It would seem that this is the time when Hezekiah and the prophets sought to reform and clean the morals and the religion of the nation. And well they might, for it was certainly needed. From the prophets of this period we get a good picture of the conditions of the nation.[1] The reign of Ahaz had been reactionary, not only increasing the social problems inherited from the time of Amos and Hosea, but likewise increasing the religious problem by the introduction of Assyrian worship. The reform began with a cleansing of the temple, which was in itself a great task, for it had been purposely polluted. After half a month's labor, everything was ready, and in a great Passover feast the Temple was re-dedicated and Jehovah again enthroned as the national God of Israel. The prophets, realizing that ritual purification was only external, insisted that the reform be carried over into every-day life and the relation of man to man.[2] Isaiah was naturally the leader in this reform, and it was really the result of his and his younger contemporary's efforts.

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1. Cf. both Isaiah and Micah. 2. Isa. 1:10-17.

SEVENTH PERIOD: SENNACHERIB'S INVASION: C. 692 B.C.

The strength of Judah's newly-affirmed faith was soon to be tested. In about 692 B.C., Sennacherib again put in his appearance in the west, this time to master Egypt. He had reached the plain of Philistia when he decided that it was unwise to leave a fortified town between his army and the home base, so he sent a detachment of troops to demand that Jerusalem surrender. The Assyrians met the Judean representatives at the gate, and talked rather insolently to them. When their demand of immediate surrender was told the aged Isaiah, the prophet, strong in the faith that the people had followed Yahweh, advised Jerusalem not to yield. The faith of the prophet was vindicated in an unusual way, for the Assyrian army was more than decimated by a plague and forced to return home immediately.[1]

CONTRIBUTION OF ISAIAH

Throughout his long periods of service for his nation, Isaiah met many situations and laid down many vital principles for Judah to follow. While some hold that Isaiah did not make any great original contribution to the thought of Judah,[2] all agree that it was his prophetic insight applied to the field of international relations that saved his nation from the fate of her northern sister. Although not all the contributions of Isaiah were entirely new to the

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1. II Kings 19.
2. Bailey & Kent, HHC, p. 219.

thought of Israel, still he made possible the continued growth of the principles of the preceding prophets by clarifying and deepening their principles. Leslie ably summarizes the contributions of Isaiah to Israel:[1] (1) He gave to Israel a majestic conception of God. He was a practical monotheist, and saw in God the power who ordered all history.[2] (2) God's spirituality is emphasized.[3] (3) He repeated and deepened and made more practical Amos' message of social justice as the requirement of God.[4] (4) He gave to Israel a remarkably well developed philosophy of history, making Assyria the nation through which it is mediated.[5] (5) He founded a prophetic circle of those who had known the religion of the spirit.[6] Finally (6) he gave to Israel a rich and relatively full conception of the Messianic era of a new world age wherein will dwell righteousness and justice and the prophetic ideals. At the head of this is the Messianic figure, although the era is greater than the figure.[7]

At the heart of Isaiah's contribution, however, is his idea of God, for this is what made him the great prophet that he was. His great contribution to the idea of God is his interpretation of God as Holy, perfected and above all, which came to him as the outgrowth of his call and experience.

> "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory." (6:3).

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1. Leslie, Op.Cit. 2. Is. 10. 3. Is. 31:3.
4. Isa. 1:10-17 5. Isa.10. 6. Isa. 8:6.
7. Isa. 7,9,11,32.

SECTION FOUR: MICAH

CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

The final prophet of the eighth century is Micah. The dates of this prophecy, like that of the other preceding prophets, is not known for certain. From the superscription and from a reference in Jeremiah we know that Micah prophesied "in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah",[1] which would make his terminal dates as 740-700 B.C.[2] From the reference to the fall of Samaria in 1:5,6, Kent places the earliest date at 725 B.C., and believes that the note of alarm in the last part of chapter one suggests that the Assyrians were about to invade Judah from the west, which threatened in 711 B.C. and happened in 701 B.C. He therefore believes the probable date to be about 710-700 B.C., which would agree with Jeremiah 26:18, wherein the reform of Hezekiah is attributed to the preaching of Micah.[3] The Abingdon Bible Commentary believes that the prediction of the fall of Samaria dates the prophecy before 721 B.C.[4] Driver agrees, holding that 1:6 was evidently uttered before the fall of Samaria.[5] J. M. P. Smith, however, holds this argument invalid, for he claims that "to argue for a date before 721 on the grounds that 1:6 predicts the fall of Samaria is beside the point, for the fall of the Northern Kingdom did not mean the fall of Samaria, for we know

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1. Micah 1:1; Jer. 26:18.
2. NCB, MP, II. p.219.
3. Kent, SEAIP, p. 139
4. ABC, p. 791
5. Driver, ILOT, p. 326

that in 720, after the fall of the Northern Kingdom, Samaria was in an anti-Assyrian coalition. As long as Samaria was standing and a source of trouble to Assyria, the prophets were apt to predict her destruction."[1] The New Century Bible suggests the possibility that the various sections

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were composed at various times, the first section coming from the time between Shalmaneser's siege of Samaria in 725 B.C. and the capture of Samaria by Sargon in 721 B.C. Chapters ii and iii may come from 719 B.C., as the Assyrian army marched past Moresheth, or from 701 B.C., when Sennacherib was driven back from Jerusalem. Chapters iv and v come after Sennacherib's retreat and the reforms of Hezekiah in 701 B.C., and chapters vi and vii during the beginnings of Manassah's reactions.[2] The date depends upon the view of the authenticity of the latter chapters; if they are from the hand of Micah, then the view of the NCB is correct, but if they are a later addition, then such a late date need not be used. In any event, it would seem that at least part of the activity of the prophet immediately preceeded the reforms of Hezekiah.

From the superscription we know that Micah's home was the village of Moresheth. "Micah's home was evidently among the western foothills of Judah in the vicinity of

AUTHOR

Gath, which had been destroyed by Hazael, the Aramean king." Moresheth was one of the outposts of western

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1. Smith, PTT, pp. 97-98 2. NCB, MP II, pp. 219-226

Judah, most exposed to the Assyrian attack. It was appropiate, therefore, that Micah, the watchman on the western frontier, should sound the alarm among the neighboring towns and carry his message of warning to Jerusalem and seek to correct, by earnest protest, those evils which threatened the life of Judah.[1] "It is perhaps significant of his rural affinities that he singles out the capitals of both kingdoms as the special objects of the divine wrath; in them the wickedness of the kingdoms seems to him to be concentrated (cf 1:5). As a Judean, living in a little village on the borders of the Philistine country, (cf. 1:4, 14) he devotes his main strength to attacking the vices of Judah."[2]

The book of Micah can be divided into three sections on a logical, rather than a chronological basis, following the cycle of corruption, judgment, salvation, of a remnant, exaltation of this remnant. Chapters 1 and 2 the doom of Samaria and its justification (1:2-9); the lament over Judah's doom (1:10-16); the divine judgment on the brutalities of men in power (2:1-5); the scornful reply to the prophet's threat (2:5,7); the prophet's stern reply (2:8-11); the deliverance (2:12,13). Section two includes chapters 3-5: the doom of Jerusalem and her leaders (chap. 3); the sin and doom of the judges (2:1-4); the sin and doom of the prophets (3:5-8); the doom of Jerusalem

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1. Kent, SEAIP, p. 139. 2. ABC, p. 791.

(3:9-12); Jerusalem the religious metropolis of the world and dispenser of peace (4:1-5); Jerusalem's changing fortunes and ultimate triumph (4:6-5:9); the gathering of the

DIVISIONS OF THE BOOK

dispersed and the restoration of the monarchy (4:6-8); siege, exile, restoration and triumph of Jerusalem (4:9-13); Judah's defender the Messiah (5:1-6); the irresistible might of the returning exiles (5:7-9); war and idolatry will be abolished (5:10-15). The third section is composed of chapters 6 and 7: Jehovah's indictment against the ingratitude of His people (6:1-8); the doom of commercial dishonesty (6:9-16); lament over the prevailing corruption (7:1-7); the victory of Zion over the heathen world (7:8-20).[1] Driver suggests only two divisions, chapters 1-5, and chapters 6-7.[2]

The authenticity of three sections of the book have been seriously questioned. 2:12f. break the meaning of the context, but since there is little ground for holding a later date, it is sometimes held that the book of Micah gives only a fragment of the original work of the prophet, and that the immediate context of this passage has been lost. Another solution of the problem is to place this passage in a different context. Steiner places it after 4:8. Chapters iv and v have the same difficulty of lack of congruity in the text. Some scholars have deleted the entire four last chapters from the works of Micah

AUTHENTICITY

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1. ABC, pp. 792-797. 2. Driver, ILOT, pp. 326-334.

(Smith, PTT, p. 98, would accept only 4:14; 5:9-12; 6:9-16; and 7:1-6 as authentic). Chapters vi and vii have been assigned by Ewald to be anonymous prophet from the time of Manasseh, while Wellhausen has relegated 7:20ff. to an exilic or post-exilic hand.[1] NCB attributes practically all of the book to Micah, with the exception of 7:11 ff. The division grouping is similar to that of ABC.[2] The break in the context is explained by giving the different sections various dates in the life of Micah.[3]

The problems facing Micah were the same that Isaiah faced in the third period of his ministry (and most of his ministry, in regards to the internal situation).

HISTORICAL SITUATION

Nationally, a superiority complex dominated which held that Judah was the favorite of Yahweh and wouldn't be destroyed. This was the outgrowth of the belief in the inviolability of the temple which Isaiah taught, only they failed to realize that his message carried with it a moral and spiritual demand.[4] Hence the approaching shadow of Assyria and her invasion and domination which threatened bothered many of them not a whit. Internally, the period was rife with greed, oppression, treachery, robbery of the poor, etc., which came down from the time of Amos and Hosea, and which Isaiah had to face all of his life except the closing periods.[5] "Micah gives a peculiarly vivid picture of the moral and religious conditions in Judah. To him...the most exasperating offense

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1. Driver, ILOT, pp. 326-334.
2. NCB. p. 219ff.
3. Cf. p. 84 of this thesis.
4. Cf. p. 74 of this thesis.
5. Ibid. p. 29.

was the exploitation of the poor, and those who were guilty of it he fiercely denounced as cannibals....'who eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them, and break their bones, chopping them in pieces as for the pot' (3:3)....These atrocities were inspired by their greed of gain, and unhappily not only the civil but the religious leaders of those days were infected by this base passion, which is combatted by Micah with an earnestness which reminds us of Jesus. The priests and prophets, to whom the people might well look for guidance, were deflected from their duties by mercenary motives (3:11): the nature of their message was determined by the size of the bite that was put in their mouths(3:5). Trade was conducted by means of false weights and measures (6:10), the best were bad (7:4), society was honeycombed with treachery, and dissension reigned in the home (7:5f). And all this low morality had its root in a low religion. Worship was conducted with heathen symbols (5:12-14). The deadly earnestness which the worshippers could on occasion display was devoted only to the externals of religion (6:6f), and in keeping with this they fondly imagined that the great Temple at Jerusalem was the guarantee of Jehovah's presence in the midst of them and that he would preserve them from all possible disaster (3:11). The universal corruption of society fully explains Micah's terrible threat (3:12)."[1]

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1. ABC, pp. 791-792.

In meeting the terrific situation which he faced, Micah proclaimed with prophetic fearlessness and insight what he conceived to be the message of Yahweh. Doubtlessly drawing from the experiences of his contemporary,[1] he proclaimed the holiness of Yahweh, and the universality of his dominion. Continuing the message of Amos, he declared the righteousness of Yahweh, and his demand for righteousness in men.[2] With Hosea, he saw that the majority of Israel might be doomed for their failure to repent, but that salvation will come to a faithful remnant who will obey the will of Jehovah.[3] His great message to Israel, thus summarizing the message of the eighth century prophets, is crystalized in what has been called the best expression of the prophetic message of Israel to the world:

TEACHING OF MICAH

> "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." (6:8).

SECTION FIVE: SUMMARY OF THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY PROPHETS

We have thus found that the eighth century prophets faced the common situation of greed, graft, injustice, oppression of the poor, etc., and that while they each had

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1. P. 80-81 of this thesis. 2. Ibid p. ~~21~~. 62-63.
3. Cf. 69-70 of this thesis.

certain specific situations which they had to meet, these were common to them all. In meeting these conditions, Amos set the standard to which all adhered, namely that Yahweh demanded justice and righteousness in daily living and in all acts of life, rather than ritual or sacrifice.[1] Hosea recognized the problem Amos left, and expanded the concept of righteousness to include the softer element of mercy in the Divine Nature, showing that knowledge of Yahweh revealed his mercy as well as his justice and righteousness.[2] Isaiah gave further content to the Divine righteousness, proclaiming a spiritual and holy God who was all-powerful.[3] Micah, Isaiah's contemporary drew from all three who had gone before him, and summarized the prophetic message of the eighth century.[4] It is important to note that throughout this message, although there are other strains, the main melody is that first given by Amos: God demands, not ritual and sacrifice, but social justice and righteousness.

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1. Cf. p. 63 of this thesis. 2. Ibid, p. 70.
3. Ibid, p. 81. 4. Ibid, p. 88.

CHAPTER FOUR: MODERN APPLICATION OF THE PROPHETIC CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS

SECTION ONE: COMPARISON OF CONDITIONS

Oftimes, the study of the Old Testament is undertaken from the scholastic viewpoint, and valuable conclusions reached, but the moral values of life are not affected.

REASON FOR CHAPTER While the intellectual values are intrinsic, for the modern prophet they are not ultimate, for he would not only know the truth, but would seek to apply that truth to life, that it may make man free. Therefore, we shall devote the final chapter of this thesis to a study of the modern application of the ideal of social justice and righteousness, which we found set forth by the eighth century prophets. Such a study naturally involves inspection of the current situation, to discover if there is anything in our present problems analagous to the problems of the prophets, and then a consideration of the prophetic solution of those problems, to see whether it is adequate to the conditions facing civilization today. In such a thesis as this, which is primarily Biblical and not economic, we shall simply note the significant trends of current conditions, using but few case studies and documentations, although many could be cited for each point. Although all the prophets reveal most of the situations involved, we shall make reference usually to Amos alone, for

he really sets the norm in describing current social conditions of the century.

One of the great problems faced by the eighth century prophets, especially Amos[1] and Hosea,[2] was the problem of national expansion. In the post-Aramaean war period,

NATIONAL EXPANSION

the nation rapidly expanded to near-Davidic limits. The last decade and a half in America has evinced a similar expansion, in business if not in area. Following the world war, 'rugged individualism' carried our economic and social life to new heights of splendor and glory, similar to that enjoyed by Israel in its 'Indian Summer'.

Such an expansion naturally led to many evils in Israel which have their counterpart in America and the world today. Internationally, one of the first evils to

NATIONALISM

manifest itself following such a period of national growth is the development of an intense feeling of nationalism, a nationalism which feels the nation to be the elect of God, and oftimes feels itself not only to be superior to all other peoples, but the only group with high idealism. Thus the prophets had to fight against a growing feeling of national importance in Israel,[3] and the idea that in her divine election she could not suffer harm, but was inviolate,[4] and right in all her doings.[5]

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1. Cf. p. 55 of this thesis.
2. Cf. p. 68 of this thesis.
3. Cf. p. 59 of this thesis.
4. Cf. p. 59 of this thesis.
5. Cf. p. 86 of this thesis.

A brief survey of the average editorial page of a modern newspaper, regardless of country, will reveal the fact that such attitudes did not die with the prophetic contemporaries. Witness a French writer: "Our patriotism is very different from that of neighboring nations, which seems founded above all on national pride, on ideas of territorial expansion, on a sentiment of material greatness at once disputable and pretentious: their patriotism has in it something aggressive, narrow and mediocre....The greatest force of the future is with us, because our ideal is a moral ideal of respect for the liberty of other people."[1] Or again, a Tammany Hall orator enthusiastically says that "The Declaration written in Philadelphia in 1776 has been the most sublime evangel promulgated since the history of Bethlehem. Like the shot fired in Concord, it was 'heard round the world'. ...Reverently, I believe it was heard with happiness in Heaven itself."[2] It would seem that in the modern world, Israel's doctrine of Divine election would be far from unique.

Further, this doctrine of Divine election, both prophetic and modern finds its interpretation in a materialistic philosophy rather than spiritual. Granted divine favor and protection, such protection was not to be realized by spiritual power, but by material force! In the prophetic times, such a

MILITARISM & TRUST IN FORCE

1. Page, ND 192. Requoted from J. F. Scott, The Menace of Nationalism in Education, p. 83.
2. Ibid. Requoted from H.C.Wilbur, Business Statesmanship, p.8.

philosophy led to allegiances and intrigues with foreign powers, for Israel was not strong enough militaristically, to protect herself.[1] In the world today, we see many analogous situations. Ententes, secret treaties, etc., led the world into one Great War, and the caldron is seething today. Among small nations, this spirit of dependence upon material force is evidenced in alliances and intrigues. In major powers, it is manifested by excessive armaments. The fact that the major powers spent nearly twice as much for armaments in 1930-31 as they did in 1913-14, would indicate that militarism is still increasing.[2]

The current strength of this philosophy of force is revealed in the statement of Rear-Admiral Fiske, retired: "The fact becomes plain to anyone who will consult the records that, without the stimulus given by wars, the sciences and the arts and engineering, medicine and surgery would hardly have been even started. It has been the needs of armies and navies that have called forth the greatest efforts of men in nearly all the practical arts of life. The organization of every business---of every Sunday-school even---is primarily military, and is based on the organization of an army."[3] Perhaps the time has not yet come when, in those days, "nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."[4]

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1. Cf. pp. 74-78 of this thesis. 2. "Men Conquer Guns", p.15. 3. Page, ND, p. 208. Requoted from Rear-Admiral B. A. Fiske, The Woman Citizen, October, 1927. 4. Is. 2:4; Micah 4:3.

We have seen that one of the great problems which the prophets faced, especially Amos,[1] was that of economic injustice and oppression. Anyone who would hold that such problems do not exist in the world today would surely reveal stark ignorance as to how the 'other half' (which is now about 90%) of the world lives. One of the most characteristic and challenging aspects of the current economic situation is the concentration of wealth, leading to terrible privation and oppression of the poor. The economic losses of the depression have been transferred by unjust laws and officials to the shoulders of the poor. Case studies ad infinitum could be cited to document this problem, but for our purpose, one is sufficient, and space forbids the detailed exposition of this one.

ECONOMIC INJUSTICE AND OPPRESSION

Late in 1931 the miners of Harlan County, Kentucky, attempted to organize for better conditions. The conditions complained of were: wage cuts, the absence of checkweighmen, compulsion to trade at company stores where prices were abnormally high, brutality of company guards, a spy system which keeps the operators informed concerning employees who join the union, and visitors regarded as 'troublemakers', the blacklisting of union men, deductions from payroll for company doctors, hospitals, and churches, the payment of teachers and pastors by the company, and interference with

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1. Cf. p. 56 ff. of this thesis.

elections and the process of justice.[1]

Arnold Johnson, a student at Union Theological School, went to the coal fields to investigate, and not only obtained documentary evidence of practically all the charges, but was himself subjected to imprisonment, assaults on his life, and other indignities and hazards. Labor leaders and newspaper reporters who dared to attempt to expose the terrific situation were beaten, deported from the county, or shot. Johnson reported that the companies had been guilty of scores of acts of violence, employing every last one of the methods used in war: starvation with resulting disease, guns and bullets, tear gas bombs, political prisoners, terrorism, censorship, and propaganda. "This is class war," he says, "not in theory but in fact."[2] Yet the grand jury which indicted scores of miners for violence brought no single indictment against the company guards! Surely the prophetic cry for justice and righteousness comes to the economic life of today, demanding a new motive of personality instead of profit!

Oppression of the poor, as the prophets realized,[3] oftimes was possible because of corrupt judges and oppression and falsity in the courts. In the Harlan situation just revealed, both these played a prominent part, for Circuit

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1. IS, volume ix, no. 5 (January 30, 1932), p. 4.
2. From an interview with Arnold Johnson
3. Cf. pp. 57,87 of this thesis. Cf. also Amos 4:1; 6:3-5; 8:4-6, etc.

Judge D. C. Jones is the brother-in-law of one of the operators, and constantly refused the miners their constitutional rights in court. The famous Mooney trial in California, wherein a labor organizer who was admittedly 'framed' fifteen years ago is still in prison, is another striking example of perverted justice;[1] while the current trial of the negroes in Scottsboro, Alabama and their death sentence on a 'trumped' statutory charge reveals the extent to which justice may be perverted in the courts today.[2] Sorrowfully we must admit that civilization has seemingly changed little at this point in over 2500 years, and that there is still 'oppression at the gate'.[3]

JUSTICE CORRUPTED AND PERVERTED

We have seen that the prophets were forced to again and again speak against political corruption and graft which was eating out the very heart of the nation.[4] A glance into the history of the nation during the last few decades will reveal the great Tweed ring of New York City, and the manner in which an incensed public opinion finally purified the situation. In spite of the vow never to allow such conditions to return, within the last two years the same city has found herself in the clutches of grafters who would make Boss Tweed appear to

POLITICAL CORRUPTION

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1. SSB, vol. 21, no. 15 (October 1, 1931), p. 1.
2. IS, vol. xi, no. 4. (January 23, 1932)
3. Cf. p. 57 of this thesis. 4. Cf. p. 86f. of this thesis.

be a petty robber in comparison. The conditions have grown steadily worse, however, until the last decade revealed a nation in which the highest official proved to be but a pawn in the hands of the corrupt 'Ohio gang', and the nation's wealth was seized by a few grafters, who have continued to increase their fortunes at the expense of the poor, until it is now estimated that 5% of the population control over 95% of the wealth.[1] So great has become the problem and so desperate the situation that men everywhere are even doubting the fundamental motives of the whole economic structure. So while it is not comforting to know that we are still enmeshed in conditions which were prevalent 2500 years ago, it is helpful to see whether the solutions proposed by these prophetic voices of the eighth century are today indices of the way out for our civilization.

Before turning to the application of the prophetic ideals to the problems of social justice and righteousness in the civilization of today, there is another highly significant phase of the problem which we must face. This is

FALSE RELIGIOUS IDEALS

the problem of false religious ideals, and it is in a sense basic, for when religion ceases to lead in the paths of righteousness, then the corrective influence is in itself perverted, and we

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1. Page, LC, p. 17

find the blind leading the blind with disastrous results to both. While the issue here may appear clouded by the smoke from the altar of worship, still the rest of the trouble is basically the same as in the time of the prophets: there has been a substitution of sacrifice for justice, of ritual for righteousness.[1] Religion in many instances has ceased to have any definite social implication, even being used as an opiate of the poor. Witness an appeal of prominent churchmen as revealed in the instructions to canvassers for funds for building an American cathedral:[2]

> "Go to the men who command great wealth either in their own right or in the trust funds which they administer. Tell them that the Cathedral and the presence of the religion which it symbolizes is the guarantee of the continuance of the social order on which their prosperity depends. Tell them that religion is the insurance of their prosperity and ask them whether they think they are paying enough for their insurance."

And this prosperity is the same as that which we have just seen is leading to the oppression of the poor and the incurrment of international hatreds!

The tragedies produced by a false view of religion are perhaps best summarized in Ernest Howard Crosby's poem, "The Collection:"[3]

> "I passed the plate in church.
> There was little silver, but the crisp bank-notes
> heaped themselves up high before me;
> And ever as the pile grew, the plate became warmer
> and warmer until it burned my fingers, and a

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1. Cf. pp. 58 ff. of this thesis. 2. Page, LC, p. 213.
3. Page, LC, p. 292. Requoted from Swords and Plowshares.

smell of scorching flesh arose from it, and I perceived that some of the notes were beginning to smolder and curl, half-browned, at the edges.

And then I saw through the smoke into the very substance of the money, and I beheld what it really was;

I saw the stolen earnings of the poor, the wide margins of wages pared down to starvation;

I saw the underpaid factory girl eking out her living on the street, and the overworked child, and the suicide of the discharged miner;

I saw poisonous gases from great manufactories spreading disease and death;

I saw hideousness extending itself from coal mine and foundry over forest and river and field;

I saw money grabbed from fellow grabbers and swindlers, and underneath them the workman forever spinning it out of his vitals...

I saw all this, and the plate burned my fingers so that I had to hold it first in one hand and then in the other; and I was glad when the parson in his white robes took the smoking pile from me on the chancel steps and, turning about, lifted it up and laid it on the altar.

It was an old-time altar indeed, for it bore a burnt offering of flesh and blood---a sweet savor unto the Moloch whom these people worship with their daily round of human sacrifices.

The shambles are in the temple as of yore, and the tables of the money-changers, waiting to be overturned."

SECTION TWO: THE PROPHETIC CHALLENGE: THE DEMAND FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS

In the preceding section we have seen that, in spite of the different age and the great modern scientific advances, the fundamental problems facing our present civilization are basically identical with those faced by

the eighth century prophets. Thus we may rightly expect that the solution offered by these men of God, if valid for their day, will give us the key to the way out of the apparently hopeless condition of present day civilization. So we turn hopefully to these prophets, to hear their message for today.

Nor do we find ourselves to be disappointed, for if we will but listen, even today we can hear the prophetic challenge rolling down the centuries: "Let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." And if we will but let this mighty stream flow over our civilization, it will in truth purge it of those base passions and false ideals which are today bringing us to the verge of destruction. If we will but discover with them that religion demands knowledge of God and His ways, we, too will discover that His righteousness is tempered with mercy, and our own justice will be likewise tempered; we will see in Him the Holy One who is all-powerful, able and willing to help us if we will but allow it. Of even greater significance for the church, we will discover that our chief sin is oftimes the confusion of ritual with righteousness, the obscuring of the true picture of our Ideal behind the incense smoke arising from the altars of our worship. We shall discover from them that our real task is to carry on in the prophetic office, and so interpret the character of God and His demands upon men that we shall eventually

bring in the 'Kingdom of God', wherein all men shall realize what the Lord doth require is "to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with our God."

SUMMARY

We have, in this thesis, traced the roots צדק 'righteousness' and שפט 'judge', and have found that in their original force they implied what we would term

CHAPTER ONE social justice and righteousness. From the study of these roots in the cognate Semitic languages we learned that this same meaning was predominant, for they nearly always had a predominant social connotation, although other meanings were found. An evolutionary study of the concepts in Biblical history revealed a growing moralization of their content, both as applied to Yahweh, and as required of man. With Moses we found almost complete moralization, and the greatest single influence in ethical conceptions in the pre-prophetic period, although there was evidently some later apostasy. Thus, we found, there was a broad historical basis for the teachings of the prophets, and they had ample ground to believe their interpretations not entirely new.

The study of the usages of the prophets of these terms, justice and righteousness, and their allied terms,

was developed intensively. A typical example of each of the different uses of the concept was intensively treated, that they might be understood thoroughly. This revealed the fundamental meaning of the terms as they are used by the prophets to be definitely ethical, substantiating the basic assumption of our thesis, that justice and righteousness are definitely and primarily social.

CHAPTER TWO

To understand the total prophetic message of social justice and righteousness, it was felt necessary to understand the prophet, the conditions which he faced, and his reaction to these conditions. As a pre-requisite to interpreting the conditions, as revealed in the records of the man, it was necessary to examine these records and make some working hypothesis regarding the authenticity of each. From the reliable records, we found that each prophet faced a desperate situation, with problems, in many instances common, of oppression of the poor, greed, graft, corrupt officials, false nationalism and intrigues, and most tragic, a false religious ideal which substituted ritual and ceremonial for justice and righteousness. In meeting these, Amos first declared the necessity of applying justice and righteousness to these problems; Hosea expanded righteousness to include the element of mercy; Isaiah gave all these elements great impetus by positing them in the Divine Nature of a Holy God; and

CHAPTER THREE

Micah summarized the contributions of this great prophetic period by setting forth the great demand of justice, love, and humility which Yahweh makes of all men.

In the final chapter of this thesis we attempted to transcend the intellectual values of purely scholarly approach, and discover the moral values of the prophetic

CHAPTER FOUR

message of social justice and righteousness for the world today. The modern social problems of nationalism, militarism and force, economic injustice and oppression, corrupt justice, political corruption, and false religious ideals were all found to be analagous to problems facing the prophets. Hence the prophetic solution of social justice and righteousness was found to be sufficient to the modern age; and it was concluded that Micah, in summarizing the message of the eighth century prophets, spoke not only to contemporary Israel but to modern America when he said:[1]

> "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

F-I-N-I-S

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1. Micah 6:8.

B-I-B-L-I-O-G-R-A-P-H-Y

Note: The capital letters on the right indicate the abbreviations used in the footnotes. The absence of page references indicates that the entire book was consulted.

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